STEPHEN HARRISON
AND REGINE MAY

APULEIUS IN EUROPEAN LITERATURE

Cupid and Psyche since 1650

CLASSICAL PRESENCES

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CLASSICAL PRESENCES

Attempts to receive the texts, images, and material culture of ancient Greece and Rome inevitably run the risk of appropriating the past in order to authenticate the present. Exploring the ways in which the classical past has been mapped over the centuries allows us to trace the avowal and disavowal of values and identities, old and new. Classical Presences brings the latest scholarship to bear on the contexts, theory, and practice of such use, and abuse, of the classical past.

Apuleius in European Literature

Cupid and Psyche since 1650

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Preface

This volume sets out to explore a vast subject: the reception in Western literature from 1650 to the present day of the influential love story of Cupid and Psyche (C&P from now on) from the second-century CE Latin prose fiction work *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius. Its chronological starting point is chosen because there are several excellent recent accounts of the rich ancient, medieval, and Renaissance receptions of Apuleius' novel (Gély 2006, Carver 2007, Gaisser 2008, Bélime-Droguet et al. 2013, Bistagne et al. 2021, the latter two with a few papers on the later period), but no comparable study of the whole period since 1650, apart from our companion volume May and Harrison (2020) (see below; Accardo 2002 offers a quirky and light-touch selection).

Another reason for concentrating on the period since 1650 is that this is the era in which the fairy tale emerges as a recognizable form in Europe (see Chapters 1 and 2). One of the key motors of this book is our conviction that Cupid and Psyche is a crucial stimulus for the fairy tale; like Fehling (1977), we believe that the resemblance of C&P to the stories of Cinderella and Beauty and the Beast derives not from common folk-tale patterns but from a clear literary genealogy in which Apuleius' text is the ancestor. In a very real sense, C&P, with its fantastic narrative and female protagonist, is a major source for the European fairy-tale tradition, and this will be a key strand in our narrative.

Within this period, we have chosen to concentrate on a few particularly rich phases in a very extensive reception history, each of which might merit its own volume: on France, at the court of Louis XIV and among female intellectuals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; on Germany, in the period when the German fairy tale is emerging (1750–1850); and on Britain, looking at the role of the Cupid and Psyche story in Romantic and Victorian literature, in the nineteenth-century novel, and in the 'decadent' literature of the late nineteenth century; we round off with a selection of

stimulating receptions since 1900, and with an Epilogue that picks out some key themes and some contemporary directions. In the Introduction we have tried to provide a summary general history of the reception of Apuleius' story as a background and context for our detailed studies, and we have tried throughout to send the reader to treatments of further material elsewhere.

A key reason for the non-exhaustive nature of this volume is the existence of another within the ambit of this same research project. These case studies should be read alongside the much broader range of receptions from the same period by a large group of international scholars, covering the visual arts, opera, and film as well as literature, the results of a 2016 conference in Leeds, which we have gathered in May and Harrison (2020); this volume with its twenty-two essays covering a whole range of receptions of C&P from 1600 to the contemporary world provides a rich resource for the subject, to which we often refer for full treatments of items mentioned only briefly here. We are most grateful to all our contributors there for their enthusiastic collaboration and highly stimulating work.

The kind of classical reception study presented in this volume stresses the importance of active and innovative adaptation of a particular classical episode, from close verbal versions to major generic recastings; this is the active form of reception labelled as 'transformation' in recent work from Berlin (Baker, Helmrath, and Kallendorf 2018, Abbamonte and Kallendorf 2018).[1] We lay particular stress on the need to appreciate the key features of the new cultural contexts for which Apuleius' Roman story is repeatedly and diversely reworked; but we also try to trace the main genetic strands of reception history by which C&P passes through several centuries of European culture, and aim to show the continuities as well as the diversities involved. In general, we here align with Martindale's view that later receptions can provide rich new insights into the interpretation of earlier works and that later receivers can never read an earlier text without some of the accretions of its previous receptions (Martindale 1993).

* * *

This is very much a joint project. Stephen Harrison has taken prime responsibility for the French and Italian material, Regine May for the German, with the two of us collaborating fully on the material in English

(with Regine May focusing on the Romantics, and Stephen Harrison on the Victorians and Decadence). Parts of Chapter 1 have appeared in earlier forms as Harrison (2016), of Chapter 2 as Harrison (2018a, 2020), and of Chapter 5 as Harrison (2018b). Drafts of various chapters have been delivered to audiences at Houston, Ann Arbor, Bryn Mawr, Ohio State, Stanford, Swansea, Munich, Genoa, and Trondheim, who are warmly thanked for their comments and feedback.

We are most grateful to the institutions that made the completion of this project possible. Stephen Harrison thanks (above all) the Leverhulme Trust for the award of a Major Research Fellowship for 2017–20, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the University of Oxford for their generous support during that time and since; Stanford University, where he was able to work on this project as W. H. Bonsall Visiting Professor for periods in 2018 and 2019; and the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, where he was able to work on it for parts of February and March 2020 as a Visiting Oxford Erskine Fellow. Regine May thanks the Arts and Humanities Council, which supported the conference at Leeds in 2016 and other aspects of her research, the Hugh Last Fund, the Audrey Barrie Brown Memorial Fund, and the Donald Atkinson Fund (Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies), and the University of Leeds for an award of the LCS Strategic Research Fund in 2016 and for research leave in 2018. She would also particularly like to thank her colleagues and students at Leeds for their support. Special thanks, too, go to the librarians in Leeds Special Collections for their help with image rights, and to the British Library. This book would not have been possible to complete without both libraries' help with accessing rare books and documents. Very special thanks go to Gurbir and Amrita for help and support.

We are also grateful to many friends and colleagues who have given various forms of aid. Particular thanks go to Christiane Reitz for kind permission to use an image of the Dufour wallpapers discussed in Chapter 2 (and for her personal guidance in Bad Doberan—see Ch. 2, n. 100), to Elisabetta Tarantino for help with Italian sources (Chapter 1), to Catherine Connors, Martin Wåhlberg, and Audrey Borowski for advice on early modern France and Gillian Pink for aid with French translations (Chapter 2), to Celia Brown for kindly making her work on Lewis Carroll available to us (Chapter 5), to David Merrill for help with the work of his uncle James Merrill, to Penelope Warner and the other literary trustees of the late

Francis Warner for kind permission to cite his work, to the Estate of Louis MacNeice for granting a licence to quote from the work of Louis MacNeice, and to Zoe Jennings for advice on Mary Zimmerman's work (all Chapter 7). At OUP we are most grateful to Charlotte Loveridge for her interest in the project, to our Project Editor Alexander Hardie-Forsyth, and to Hilary Walford for her sharp-eyed copy-editing; many thanks too to Jothi Stephenson at Straive, our patient typesetter. All the WWW locators in the volume were successfully accessed in January 2023.

Stephen Harrison and Regine May

January 2023

[1] For further methodological models and debates in classical reception, cf., e.g., Hardwick (2002), Martindale and Thomas (2006), and Silk, Gildenhard, and Burton (2013).

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Introduction

1. Apuleius: Life and Writings

Apuleius is one of the major Latin writers of the second century CE, a period that marks the transition from the end of traditional classical culture (the historian Tacitus and the satirist Juvenal are probably still alive when Apuleius is born in the 120s CE) to the new world of the later Roman Empire and of Christianity (the first great Christian Latin writer Tertullian is certainly born before Apuleius dies, at some time after 160 CE). His career and literary output can be seen as representing in the Latin West some key aspects of the contemporary cultural revival of the so-called Second Sophistic in the Greek East of the Roman Empire, such as a focus on rhetorical performance and an interest in archaic language and the culture of the past.[1]

Apuleius practised as rhetorician and teacher in Roman North Africa, in Carthage (near modern Tunis), and his many writings were clearly well known to a range of writers in late antiquity (he is often mentioned by Augustine in the fourth and fifth centuries CE).[2] He is best known for his prose fiction *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*, the work in which the tale of Cupid and Psyche occurs (see Section 2), and a creation of remarkable Latin style: it is full of poetic and archaic words and apparent coinages, rhythmical and rhyming cola, and coloured with colloquialism and Graecisms. Many of his other works are lost, but of those that are extant the *Apologia* (a self-defence from 158–9 CE) is an immensely learned speech that combines Ciceronian courtroom fireworks, Platonic philosophizing, and sophistic self-display, while the *Florida*, twenty-odd excerpts from his

showy declamations delivered at Carthage in the 160s CE, demonstrate considerable rhetorical and stylistic talent, and the *De Platone* and *De mundo* further show his strong interests in Platonic philosophy. Little known in the medieval period, Apuleius was enthusiastically rediscovered in the Renaissance (see 4 below), and much read and studied, forming the centre of debates about Latin prose style in which he was set against the more classicizing and sober Cicero; little favoured by classicists until the second half of the twentieth century, he is now a much-researched author.[3]

We know a little more of his life than of that of many classical authors. Apuleius was born into the local elite *c.*125 CE at Madauros in the Roman province of Africa Proconsularis, in modern Algeria, and educated in Carthage, Athens, and Rome; at Athens he gained enough philosophy to be called *philosophus Platonicus* both by himself (*Apologia* 10) and by others. He claims to have travelled extensively as a young man; in the winter of 156 at Oea in North Africa he met a former companion of his studies at Athens, Pontianus, whose mother, Pudentilla, he then married. Accused of having induced Pudentilla to fall in love with him through magical means, Apuleius successfully defended himself in 158 or 159 in a case of which his extant *Apologia* (above) is a (no doubt tendentious) record; the *Florida* (above) show that he practised rhetoric and had students in Carthage in the 160s. Nothing certain is known of him after 170.

Scholars have disagreed about the dating of the novel *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass*— Apuleius' most celebrated and widely read work, of which the story of Cupid and Psyche forms a key part (see Section 2). Some regard this exuberant fiction as a youthful production, aimed at a Roman readership with whom Apuleius had greater contact in the earlier part of his career, while others see its consummate style and dense literary texture as belonging to the mature period of his life.[4] Objective dating criteria are hard to find, but a number of considerations suggest with some probability that the *Metamorphoses* belongs at least after the *Apologia* of 158–9. First, the *Metamorphoses*, which contains stories of magic and much obscenity, was apparently not known to Apuleius' accusers in his trial on charges of sorcery: there is no hint of it at all in the *Apologia*. Second, the *Metamorphoses* seems to display allusions to Apuleius' own career in the period of the *Apologia*: like Apuleius, Lucius in *Metamorphoses* 3 faces a trial on trumped-up charges in which he defends himself with brilliant rhetoric (*Met.* 3.4–7), after which, like Apuleius at Carthage and probably at

Madauros, he is rewarded by the honour of a statue (*Met*. 3.11). Like the marriage of Apuleius and Pudentilla, that of Cupid and Psyche in the *Metamorphoses* is impugned by opponents for its secretive location in a country villa (*Met*. 6.9). Third, Apuleius' own list of the various literary genres he has attempted in *Florida* 9.27–8, dated to 162–3 CE, does not include prose fiction, though it mentions a wide range of other works. Fourth, there may be some reason to date the *Metamorphoses* after the publication of the *Sacred Tales* of Aelius Aristides, which dates from the 170s CE.[5] It is thus reasonable to argue that the *Metamorphose*s was probably written after the *Apologia*, perhaps at a late date in Apuleius' career.

2. The Cupid and Psyche Story in the Latin Original

The *Metamorphoses* is on an epic scale (it has eleven books and is much the same length as Vergil's *Aeneid*) and is full of narratological cleverness; erotic, humorous, and sensational by turns, it is a remarkable and fascinating work. The main plot concerns the young man Lucius, an elite young Greek in the Roman Empire of the day, who through his curiosity to discover the secrets of witchcraft is metamorphosed into an ass and undergoes a variety of picaresque adventures in travelling through Greece from Thessaly to the Argolid, before being retransformed into human shape through the agency of the goddess Isis at her harbour sanctuary of Cenchreae on the Saronic gulf, near Corinth.

This plot is punctuated by a number of entertaining and colourful inserted tales, which often have a close thematic relation to the main narrative; the most substantial and best known of them is the narrative of Cupid and Psyche, the topic of this volume, which occupies the equivalent of two whole books in the centre of the work (*Met*. 4.28–6.24). This tale evidently parallels the main story of Lucius by presenting a character (Psyche) whose curiosity causes troublesome adventures before her rescue through the intervention of a god (Cupid). It is narrated as a distracting fiction to the young girl captive Charite and the hero Lucius (still in asinine form after metamorphosis) by a nameless old woman who is housekeeper to

the robber band that holds them both prisoner. A summary of the tale will be useful here.

[Book 4.28–end] ‘There was once a princess so beautiful that she was worshipped as Venus. Venus, outraged, asked Cupid to ensure that the princess made the most degrading of marriages. But none dared to marry her (her name was Psyche) because of her extreme beauty; the Delphic oracle, consulted, said she should be placed on a cliff and would marry a terrifying winged monster. Her parents sadly complied with the oracle; no monster appeared to Psyche, but a gentle breeze carried her down and set her in a grassy valley.’

[Book 5] ‘When she woke up, she saw a beautiful palace, equipped with disembodied voices, which answered her bidding and provided for all her comforts. When she went to bed, she was visited by an unknown male who slept with her, and who returned each night; she could never see his face or discover who he was. Eventually, Psyche asked her unknown husband for contact with her family; he objected but in the end allowed her to summon her sisters to the palace, on condition that she resist any pressure on their part to discover his identity. The sisters visited and were jealous of Psyche’s luxurious lifestyle, especially when they noticed that she was pregnant. They tricked her into fatal curiosity and into finding out her husband’s identity by shining a lamp over him while he was asleep—he was Cupid, who had taken her for himself; a drop of oil from the lamp wakes him up, and on the discovery that she had broken his taboo he left her. Psyche, realizing her loss and her sisters’ trick, deceived them in turn into self-destruction. Venus, informed of Cupid’s activities with Psyche, was enraged with both the lovers.

[Book 6] ‘Psyche began her search for her lost Cupid. Ceres and Juno were sympathetic but could not help for fear of Venus’ wrath. Venus asked Mercury to advertise for Psyche’s return to her, claiming that she was a runaway slave, but Psyche gave herself up of her own accord. To punish and humiliate Psyche, Venus set her a number of almost impossible tasks to do, which friendly animals under Cupid’s influence helped her to complete. The final task was to descend to the Underworld to get a little of Proserpina’s beauty for Venus in a box. Psyche managed to fill the box and bring it back, but at the last moment her curiosity again got the better of

her; she opened the box and a deadly sleep flew out, making her unconscious. Cupid rescued her, and persuaded Jupiter to allow him to marry Psyche; even Venus agreed, and Psyche was made an immortal and Cupid's wife, giving birth to a daughter, Pleasure.' [6.24]

As already noted, this tale is one of many inserted stories told both by the main narrator and by sub-narrators in the *Metamorphoses*, but it is by far the longest and most elaborate. It extends over parts of three books, encompassing the end of book 4, the whole of book 5, and most of book 6; this mismatch between its narrative structure and the novel's book structure is deliberate, and an imitation of the way individual story units spread over book boundaries in Ovid's homonymous epic *Metamorphoses*.[6] It is no surprise that this substantial episode, standing roughly at the centre of the work, has been seen as a crucial part of the work that has particular significance for its overall interpretation.

Scholars have discussed extensively how the tale relates to the plot of the novel as a whole.[7] As already noted, this story evidently parallels that of Lucius himself, who presents a figure clearly analogous to that of Psyche: both are youthful and error-prone figures who show disastrous foolishness and curiosity, both suffer while engaged in vulnerable wandering occasioned by that foolishness, and both are rescued and given a privileged status by divine intervention as the culmination of their story. This interesting gender flexibility of the original can be seen in some later receptions. Lucius in his metamorphosed form as an ass, who forms part of the audience for the tale, naturally cannot see that it is a parallel to his own future, but that view is of course available to the second-time reader of the novel, who knows what is to come, a neat dramatic irony. In the tale's narrative context, the narrating old woman is trying to soothe its main intended listener, the young girl Charite, who has just been taken prisoner and separated from her fiancé; Psyche's story, which tells of a young girl who is separated from her beloved, but who after some tribulations bravely borne is reunited with him in a happy and triumphant marriage, exactly fits the purpose of calming her down and giving her hope. Once again, there is a dramatic irony, here a double one: the narrator's interest as the housekeeper of her captors is in fact in soothing Charite and keeping her quiet rather than looking forward with enthusiasm to her rescue, while the second-time reader of the novel knows that Charite will indeed enjoy a

reunion with her fiancé but only briefly, before losing him to murder and herself committing suicide, something narrated in book 8 of the novel.

3. The Literary Sources and Interpretation of the Cupid and Psyche Story

The episode of Cupid and Psyche is commonly held to be Apuleius' own creation, though there is some possible evidence in art of an earlier version of the story with some of the same details;[8] as framed by Apuleius, it has many clear literary models and antecedents in famous literary texts.[9] As a multi-book inserted narrative in a longer text, it recalls similar substantial stories set within Greek and Roman epic poems, such as the tales told by Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey* 9–12 (encompassing such fantastic episodes as the man-eating Cyclops and the magic powers of the Sirens and the enchantress Circe), or the narrative by Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid* 2–3 (telling of the fall of Troy and the earlier parts of his voyage). Such epic models are suitably transformed for the less elevated generic context of prose fiction;[10] for example, Psyche's descent to the Underworld in *Metamorphoses* 6 clearly echoes in a lighter way the similar but portentous journey to Hades of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6 (the identity of the book numbers is unlikely to be coincidental).

The tasks that Venus forces Psyche to perform constitute another epic structure; there are four of these, a number that might plausibly be seen as an appropriate reduction in the miniaturized circumstances of the two books of Cupid and Psyche of the traditional twelve Labours of Hercules, an epic theme in antiquity. The analogies between the Labours of Hercules and the tribulations of Psyche are interestingly close. Both sets of labours could be represented as imposed on a mortal by a resentful goddess, Hercules' Juno matching Psyche's Venus, and both mortals finally fulfil their labours successfully and become immortal themselves. Psyche's final apotheosis and role on Olympus is in fact very like that of Hercules, who ended up being reconciled to Juno, being admitted to Olympus, and marrying her daughter Hebe (e.g. Homer, *Odyssey* 11.602–3), just as Venus finally allows Psyche's marriage to her son Cupid and elevation to divine status, and shows her reversal of emnity towards her by dancing at the wedding. Like

the Labours of Hercules (cf., e.g., Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.12), those of Psyche culminate in the ultimate test of descent to and return from the Underworld (*Met.* 6.16); like Hercules (but unlike Aeneas), she is instructed to bring something back, not the hell-hound Cerberus but a part of Proserpina's beauty (*Met.* 6.16).

But the Labours of Hercules are not the only epic quests mirrored in Psyche's four tasks. The second of them (*Met.* 6.11) is obviously based on the *Argonautica*, the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece, another prominent topic of Greek and Roman epic poetry, and on the *Odyssey*: Psyche, instructed by Venus to obtain some of the wool from a vicious flock of golden-fleeced sheep (clearly a novelistic version of Jason and the Argonauts), is enabled to do so by the friendly intervention of a reed, recalling the episode in the *Odyssey* where Menelaus, similarly set the impossible task of capturing Proteus amid his flock of seals, accomplishes thanks to the advice of the sea-nymph Eidothea (*Odyssey* 4.363–586). Thus, we find two heroic deeds of epic condensed into the rather more domestic (but still dangerous) task of the girl Psyche; the slightly comic and whimsical turn given to this heroic material in the novel is noteworthy and shows again how Apuleius transforms his epic models in a way suitable for his rather different novelistic work. Epic is not the only generic intertext; the story also incorporates motifs of tragedy (e.g. Psyche's 'marriage to death' on the rock is a tragic element found in plays such as Sophocles' *Antigone* or Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*), while Psyche's first socially unequal and secretive union resulting in pregnancy, her enslavement, and her final marriage of equals to Cupid are taken from Roman comedy.[11]

Scholars (most prominently Scobie 1983) have often argued that the story of Cupid and Psyche draws on the traditional patterns of folk tale—for example, in the famous opening at *Met.* 4.28, 'in a certain city there lived a king and queen'. Advocates of the folk tale have pointed to the lack of geographical specification in this opening sentence as an indication of traditional oral narrative. However, the fact that the location of the city is left deliberately vague is not in our view a reflection of the popular origins of the story. Two elements are in play here. First, and most important, it is characteristic of the *Metamorphoses* to reveal little of the geography of its scenario. No specific plot location is mentioned in the novel between book 3 and the capture of Lucius–ass by the robbers at Hypata in Thessaly and

book 10 when where he is to be re-transformed in Corinth; though the journeys of Lucius take place in a vague imperial Greece, further specification is avoided. Second, Apuleius is writing for a Latin-speaking readership, who would naturally not be so interested in Greek locations; it is notable that the only location mentioned in the story of Cupid and Psyche, apart from the oracle of Apollo at Didyma in Asia Minor, is Rome: the advertisement for the return of the runaway 'slave' Psyche mentions the *metae Murtiae*, the turning-posts of the Circus Maximus (*Met.* 6.8), a well-known and indeed notorious location in the centre of the imperial city. The vagueness of the Greek landscape of the *Metamorphoses* is a reflection of a relatively uninterested Romanocentric readership, not of misty folk-tale origins. Its lack of specificity is exploited in some of the receptions treated in this volume, which place the story in various parts of Greece.

Our view on the relationship of the story of Cupid and Psyche to traditional folk tales is close to that of Detlev Fehling (Fehling 1977)—namely, that the tale depends almost entirely on literary rather than on folk-tale sources, and indeed that many folk tales can be argued to derive directly from Apuleius rather than the other way round. Much of the modern conception of the folk tale relies on the popular stories collected by European scholars of the early modern period and of the nineteenth century, most of whom had a strongly classical education and were naturally inclined to shape their retellings in a classical way. The traditional reception of the tale as a fairy story may in fact reflect its role as a literary text that strongly influenced the formation of the traditional canon of modern fairy tales (see further Section 4).[12]

The story of Cupid and Psyche is often also connected with Platonic philosophy, which is only natural given its author's reputation as *philosophus Platonicus* (see above). The speaking names of its protagonists (Cupid = 'Love' in Latin, Psyche = 'Soul' in Greek) have led scholars to connect them with Platonic doctrine on Love and the Soul, but it is hard to establish a thoroughgoing philosophical allegory. This is despite the famous echo of Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* when Psyche tries to hold on to the escaping Cupid at *Met.* 5.24:

> But as he rose Psyche quickly grasped his right leg with both hands, forming a pitiable appendage to his soaring flight and a trailing attachment in dangling companionship through the cloudy regions. (Loeb translation)

This much-discussed passage has rightly been seen as an allusion to Plato, *Phaedrus* 248 c:

> If any soul becomes a companion to a god and catches sight of any true thing, it will be unharmed until the next circuit; and if it able to do this every time, it will always be safe. If, on the other hand, it does not see anything true because it could not keep up, and by some accident takes on a burden of forgetfulness and wrongdoing, then it is weighed down, sheds its wings and falls to earth. (Loeb translation)

The Apuleian text seems to exemplify the Platonic idea: Psyche fails to be a true companion to her god Cupid and falls to earth unable to fly.

This intertextual echo has commonly been presented as justifying an allegorical interpretation of the story of Cupid and Psyche. But the difference between the context and the treatment of the idea in the *Phaedrus* and those in the *Metamorphoses* is instructive and crucial. In the Platonic dialogue *Phaedrus* this passage occurs in the lofty and mystical discourse spoken by Socrates, supposedly in the voice of the poet Stesichorus. In Apuleius' novel the moment is certainly a dramatic one, the abandonment of Psyche by Cupid, but the treatment again seems to present a comic version of the Platonic model. Unlike the Platonic soul, Psyche (Soul) never has wings in Apuleius' novel, though she is often so represented in art, and she cannot hope to follow the god Cupid (she is also literally burdened by her pregnancy); she is trying to go where she is not wanted, following the tragicomic tradition of the Ovidian princess Scylla, desperately grasping the stern of the departing ship of Minos, who has rejected her as a lover (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.142–4). And, though Psyche has, like the Platonic soul, indeed taken on 'a burden of forgetfulness and wrongdoing', forgetting Cupid's admonition not to probe his identity and acting wrongly in investigating it, Apuleius' elaborate description of her as an unwanted appendage to the rising Cupid provides a strong comic contrast with the mystical tone of the Platonic context. Here the text lingers on the undignified picture of the pregnant Psyche hanging in the air in remarkably elaborate and heightened language, whose effect can only be a deliberate and humorous contrast with the heroine's ludicrous (if pathetic) posture. Though there is a clear allusion to Plato's allegory, there is no profound allegorical symbolism in the Apuleian version. Furthermore, this hint at symbolism is never followed up, and the romance of Love and Soul is in fact seriously allegorized at no other point in the tale. It is perhaps ironic

that Apuleius' tale has nevertheless been so often allegorized in its reception from Fulgentius onwards (see below).

A similar emphasis on the use of Plato for his literary colour rather than his philosophical views is found in Cupid and Psyche's use of another famous Platonic dialogue on the subject of love, the *Symposium*. There the assembled company at the symposium famously compete in praising the god Love (Cupid). The climax occurs when Socrates tells the assembled company of how the true nature of Love was revealed to him by the priestess Diotima of Mantinea (201d–212c): Diotima, claims Socrates, said that Love's true object is the beauty of the soul, not the body, and that thus he is the greatest of the gods, drawing man towards contemplation of the divine. In Apuleius, we have an inserted tale in which a woman gives an account of love and the soul, Cupid and Psyche, a Platonic model for the narrative frame of Cupid and Psyche. But, as with the epic links already discussed, the differences are as interesting as the similarities: in Apuleius the tale about Love and the Soul is narrated, not by a dignified priestess with a ponderous name, Diotima, 'honoured by Zeus' in Greek, but by a nameless and undignified old woman; and there is no sign of a high philosophical message. This comic touch stresses the lower literary character of the *Metamorphoses*, more concerned with literary entertainment than philosophical exposition, an aspect of the text that also renders unlikely the religious interpretation of the story of Cupid and Psyche as an allegory for mystical initiation.[13]

This fundamentally entertaining aspect of the Cupid and Psyche story is emphasized by its playfully complex narrative frame. Within the novel as a whole, the tale has three levels of narrator: the anonymous old woman, who actually tells the story; Lucius–ass, who retells it within the novel; and the final writer, Apuleius. The first of these narrates it to calm a tense kidnap victim (Charite), presumably aiming to induce her to believe that all will turn out well for her, as it does for Psyche, and that she, like the tale's heroine, will be reunited with her beloved and live happily ever after. The second of these, typically characterized as unperceptive, retells it as a mere 'pretty story' (*Met.* 6.25), ironically concealing the more subtle purposes of the third narrator, Apuleius himself (we have seen above how the story of Psyche deliberately parallels that of Lucius). The birth of a daughter named Pleasure to Cupid and Psyche at the tale's ending, we would contend,

suggests that the narrative aims at readerly pleasure rather than any form of ideological edification.

4. The Reception of Cupid and Psyche in European Culture to 1650: A Brief Outline

As already noted in our Preface, the earlier stages of the reception of Apuleius' novel and of the Cupid and Psyche story up to 1650 have been well studied in recent scholarship, and this volume seeks to pursue some key case studies of the most significant stages of its literary reception since that date. The outline account that follows here points out some of the highlights and key trends before 1650, providing a background and set of cultural frameworks for our project.[14]

The earliest extant full interpretation of the Cupid and Psyche story comes from the *Mythologiae* of Fulgentius in the sixth century CE, a work that seeks to present allegorical accounts of a Christian moralizing kind of a range of familiar stories from mythology. Among these is the story of Cupid and Psyche (*Mythologiae* 3.6), where Psyche (naturally) represents the soul, Venus worldly lust, her sisters the forces of the flesh and of free will.[15] Fulgentius' account presents an important precedent in the reception of our story in two ways: it begins the explicitly allegorical interpretation that is naturally invited by the names of the main characters in the original, especially that of Psyche as the soul, which will be particularly resonant in the Germany of the *Goethezeit* (see Chapter 3). It follows Martianus Capella (*floruit* 410–20, born in Madaurus just like Apuleius), whose allegorization of the story is the first point in literary history where the story of Cupid and Psyche is treated as an episode separate from the rest of the *Metamorphoses*, a tradition of interpretation that was next found in Ernnst's 1515 analysis[16] and continues to this day—for example, in the latest scholarly commentary.[17]

Apuleius' work was largely unknown in the medieval period before the rediscovery of manuscripts of his works in Italy by the first generation of humanists.[18] Between 1349 and 1369 Petrarch owned and annotated a complete manuscript of the author, extant in the Vatican Library as Vat. Lat. 2193, while in the 1350s Boccaccio copied out a manuscript of most of

Apuleius' works in his own hand, now in the Laurentine Library in Florence as Laur. 54.32. Boccaccio famously used stories from the *Metamorphoses* in his *Decameron*,[19] though his approach to Cupid and Psyche in his non-fiction output followed the allegorical precedent set by Fulgentius: in his work on the pagan gods, *De genealogia deorum* (1360–74), Boccaccio suggests (5.22) that Psyche represents the rational soul, Cupid the love of God, Zephyrus the Holy Spirit, the sisters the forces of the flesh, and Pleasure eternal salvation.[20]

The first printed edition of Apuleius' works was published in Rome in 1469;[21] translations of the *Metamorphoses* were made into Italian, Spanish, French, and German within half a century, with energizing effects on vernacular receptions. The German translation of Johann Sieder, probably completed before 1500, was printed in 1538 (for its character see Plank 2004); this elicited a *Meisterlied* in that same year from Hans Sachs, the great cobbler–poet of Nuremberg immortalized by Wagner in *Die Meistersinger*, which presented the *Metamorphoses* in the tradition of Fulgentius and Boccaccio as a moral allegory about foolish human behaviour.[22]

In England the important translation of William Adlington (1566) prompted literary interest in the age of Shakespeare.[23] Shakespeare himself used Apuleius in the ass-head metamorphosis of the weaver Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, while Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia* (*c*.1580) evidently deploys elements from the tale of Cupid and Psyche in its novel-style narrative (e.g. an oracle given to a king that predicts a dire marriage for his daughter), and the story of the lovers is summarized in a single stanza of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (3.6.50, published 1590). The prolific playwright Thomas Heywood adapted the story to the form of the court masque (with elaborate scenery, music, and dancing) in *Love's Mistress, or the Queen's Masque*, performed to King Charles 1 and Queen Henrietta Maria on several occasions in 1636.[24] This stimulated his friend Shackerley Marmion to write a poetic adaptation of over two thousand lines in two books of heroic couplets (*Cupid and Psyche*, 1638). About the same time, John Milton alluded to the story in his masque *Comus* (1002–10), while a decade later Joseph Beaumont, in his long poem *Psyche: or, Loves Mysterie* (1648), reads the figure as an allegory of the Christian soul, with an elaborate presentation of the plot.

In Golden Age Spain (1580–1681), C&P had a substantial and interesting reception, stimulated by the 1513 translation by Diego López de Cortegana, but relatively little of note after that time.[25] Apart from the long poetic narrative version of Francisco de Villalpando's *Amor enamorado: fabula de Psiques y Cupido* (1655, 'Love in Love') in eight cantos, the story is found in dramatic adaptations of various degrees of proximity to the original. Both the best-known dramatists of the Golden Age, Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and Calderón de la Barca (1600–81) treated C&P; Lope's full version in his *Psiquis y Cupido* (before 1604) is unfortunately lost,[26] but he used elements of the story in his 'cloak and sword' play *La viuda valenciana* (*c.*1600, where it is the bride and not the bridegroom whose identity is obscured) and his posthumous comedy *El amor enamorado* (1637, 'Love in Love)', where Cupid again falls in love, this time with the nymph Sirena. The allegorical potential of the story made it a natural topic for the sacred drama of Calderón, who wrote two one-act verse adaptations of the story in the form of *auto sacramental* (a Eucharistic play for church performance) with the same title *Psiquis y Cupido* (1640 for Toledo and 1665 for Madrid).[27] In the Toledo version, Psyche's wicked sisters are designated Paganism and Synagogue, married to Idolatry and Judaism respectively, while Psyche herself represents Faith, who of course wins out in the end, while in the grander Madrid version the three sisters represent the three ages of the world: Paganism and the inheritance of the Roman Empire, Judaism and the inheritance of the kingdom of Zion, and the current third age; the 'unknown prince' Cupid comes to bring salvation to the world and marries Psyche/Third Age in a final allegory of the power of the Eucharist.

These shorter religious and conceptual adaptations are an interesting contrast with Calderón's earlier and fuller version in the mythological comedy *Ni Amor se libra de amor* (1635–40, 'Not even Love Can Free himself from Love').[28] Calderón adds a number of elements to the original to appeal to a contemporary audience; we find an extensive background story about Psyche's city and family, two disguised lovers for Psyche's sisters, who themselves achieve happy marriages, a disappointed mortal lover for Psyche herself, a fool and a maid who aid the intrigue. He also cuts out the darker theme of Psyche's trials, suitably for a comedy; Cupid relents immediately after Psyche's discovery of his identity and rapidly returns to save her from suicide and offer her marriage and apotheosis.

Finally, a clear adaptation of C&P is also found in the work of another great name of the Golden Age: in Miguel de Cervantes's 1617 novel *Persiles and Sigismunda* (3.17), Ruperta plans to kill Croriano in his sleep, but hesitates and then wakes him with her candle: the two marry. Here the modern novel fittingly echoes its ancient equivalent.[29]

Italy, however, was the key region of Apuleian literary influence in the century after the emergence of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* into print in Rome in 1469.[30] This, along with the Italian adaptation in Matteo Boiardo's *Apulegio volgare* (*c.*1479), led to a rapid and rich phase of reception, especially in the humanistic circle of Isabella D'Este (born Gonzaga, 1474–1539) in Mantua and Ferrara: 'the novel was translated, imitated, illustrated, versified and dramatised' by 1500.[31] All these modes of reception of C&P in particular will be found in the French seventeenth century discussed in Chapter 2; in particular, the Mantuan reshaping of C&P into a five-act comedy in the *Noze di Psiche e Cupidine* of Galeotto Del Carretto (*c.*1500) inaugurated many dramatizations of the story, mostly for princely patrons, which look forward to those for the court of Louis XIV,[32] while the pastoral setting of Niccolò da Correggio's *Fabula Psiches et Cupidinis*, a version of 179 stanzas in *ottava rima* dedicated to Isabella D'Este in the 1490s (in which the story is told by Cupid to the poet–shepherd, desperately in love with Florida) looks forward to the similar pastoral elements in La Fontaine.[33]

The sixteenth century in Italy saw many works that alluded to C&P in part but few major adaptations, since those of the fifteenth century remained popular; the most important developments were the vernacular version by Agnolo Firenzuola, published posthumously in 1549,[34] and Ercole Udine's *Psiche* (1599). This last poem in eight cantos[35] follows Apuleius' plot relatively closely, but gives the lovers more to say, adds many descriptions of people and places with Italian colour, and adds some Christian colouring to much discourse of courtly love: the child of Cupid and Psyche is called Diletto, 'delight', and presented as an allegory of the happy vision of God achieved by Psyche through her labours. Its elaborate and artificial style marks it out as aesthetically baroque.[36]

There were also important receptions beyond literature in the Italian Cinquecento. Several madrigals and songs set elements from C&P to music,[37] and the story was naturally a favourite subject for artworks linked

with marriage or romantic unions.[38] It had been depicted on *cassoni* (traditional painted wedding chests) in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century,[39] and in the first half of the sixteenth formed the subject of the spectacular fresco cycles of the age. These included the famous sequence painted by Raphael and his students in 1518 for the Loggia di Psiche in the villa of Agostino Chigi in Trastevere, Rome (the modern Villa Farnesina), in celebration of Chigi's marriage, in which the wedding banquet of C&P forms the largest and climactic ceiling image,[40] and similar works by Raphael's students: the frescoes by Giulio Romano for the Palazzo Te in Mantua, executed in the 1520s for Federico II Gonzaga (son of Isabella D'Este, above) in connection with his mistress Isabella Boschetti, and the frescoes of Perin del Vaga of 1528–34 for the apartments of the great admiral Andrea Doria and his wife in the Villa del Principe in Genoa.[41] As we will see in Chapters 3 and 5, the Farnesina frescoes in particular themselves become literary subjects.

It is crucial for the tale's reception history that the most significant early Italian collection of fairy tales bears the clear mark of C&P. Giambattista Basile's *Pentamerone/Lo cunto de li cunti, The Five Days Work/The Tale of Tales*, first published in 1634–6, presented fifty lively fantastic stories in the dialect and setting of his home region of Naples and Campania, in a Boccaccio-like framework of fifty tales told over five days.[42] As in the case of Boccaccio, some of these derive material from Apuleius, but (in contrast with the *Decameron*, which favoured the risqué adultery stories of *Met.* 9) the links come particularly from the romantic narrative of C&P: 1.6, 'The Cat on the Hearth' (*La gatta cenerentola* = the later Cinderella), tells of a young girl mistreated by her wicked stepsisters, who eventually marries a prince, 2.5, 'The Serpent', of a princess with a monstrous serpent husband who turns out to be a handsome prince, and 5.4, 'The Golden Trunk', of a girl whose curiosity gets her into trouble but who eventually enjoys a happy ending, while (most tellingly) 2.9, 'The Padlock', presents a girl who goes away from her home to a splendid palace, is visited by an unknown lover, advised by her envious sisters to seek his identity, sent away from the palace on doing so, but finally reunited with him after adventures and wanderings while pregnant.[43] The cumulative evidence of these stories makes it very likely that we are dealing with popular derivatives of

Apuleius' story, not unlikely in the region of Naples with its considerable tradition of humanistic learning.[44]

Folk-tale theorists have suggested that these C&P-like tales in Basile are parallel to rather than derived from Apuleius, and represent authentic independent survivals of local Italian vernacular traditions that support the universal oral diffusion of the story;[45] but it seems much more likely that Basile was simply using Apuleius.[46] His other stories show clear appropriation of motifs from Pliny, Ovid, and Virgil, to name but the most obvious classical sources,[47] and his contemporary fellow-Neapolitan, the mannerist poet Giambattista Marino, famously included an elaborate version of C&P in the fourth canto of his enormous 1624 poem *Adone* (where Cupid himself narrates the story to the protagonist Adonis).[48] Basile's collection itself provided material for later fairy tales in France and Germany, since it contains proto-versions of Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Sleeping Beauty, and other stories adapted and made famous by Perrault and the Grimm Brothers.[49]

The version of our story in Marino's *Adone* is worth lingering on, given that he presents the most prominent version of the early seventeenth century, which has some influence on later receptions of C&P (see Chapters 2 and 3). It is notable that this major work of Italian literature was in fact published in Paris (Marino's place of residence 1615–23) in 1623 under the patronage of the Florentine dowager queen Marie de' Medici, widow of Henri IV, who (along with her son Louis XIII) is the dedicatee of the work. Its extensive version of Cupid and Psyche in 293 *ottava rima* stanzas in canto IV, drawing extensively on Udine (above),[50] is preceded by a prose allegory that makes it clear that Marino is following the Christian/Platonic moralizing interpretation of the story presented in Renaissance commentaries and that goes back to Fulgentius in late antiquity and more recently Boccaccio (for both see above).[51]

> The story of Psyche represents the state of man. The city where she is born denotes the world. The king and queen who are her parents signify God and Matter. They have three young daughters, that is the Flesh, Freedom and the Soul; the last presents herself as the youngest, only because it diffuses its way in after the establishment of the body. She is also described as more beautiful, since she is more noble than the Flesh and superior to Freedom. By Venus, who feels enmity towards her, is meant Lust. She sends Cupid, that is Desire, who falls in love with the Soul and joins himself to her, persuading her not towonder about his appearance, that is not to strain after the delights of passion, nor toconsent to the incitements of her sisters Flesh and Freedom. But she at their instigation is smitten by curiosity to see him and discovers

> the hidden lantern, that is reveals the flame of desire hidden in her heart. The lantern, which with its sparks burns Love, shows the ardour of what can be desired, which always leaves the mark of sin stamped upon the flesh. Psyche, driven by Fortune through many dangers and joined to Love after many tasks and acts of persecution, is the type of the kind of soul, which through many travails comes finally to perfect joy.[52]

As scholars of Marino have pointed out, this high-minded allegory is not always evident in the pagan erotic story it introduces, which is often witty and only occasionally points to a moral.[53] In *Adone*, canto 4, the author follows the narrative framework of Niccolò da Correggio's version of C&P in the same metre (above), which is clearly a source throughout. Cupid narrates his own story to Adonis, the handsome young prince with whom he has made his own mother fall in love as a result of erotic tensions among the community of gods, to show how tribulations in love can be successfully endured (Psyche is clearly the paradigmatic parallel for the mortal Adonis, and the narrative situation echoes the function of C&P in Apuleius' novel as a soothing narrative to calm the captive Charite); the effect of the tale on Adonis, briefly recorded, is to increase the intensity of his love for Venus (4.293).

Cupid's introduction to his narrative (stanzas 1–7) states that the right moral qualities such as endurance, fidelity, and courage are important for lovers, and cites Psyche as a model:

> *La fatica e'l travaglio è paragone,*
> *dove provar si suol nostra finezza;*
> *né senz'affanno e duol, premi e corone*
> *può di gloria ottener vera fortezza*. (6.1–4)
> Effort and travail is the contest
> Where alone our fine nature can be proved:
> Not without anxiety and pain, true courage
> Can attain the rewards and garlands of glory.

Marino's extended retelling, nearly twice as long as the original, follows Apuleius' story quite closely.[54] Its expansions, befitting its baroque aesthetic, are usually concerned with extending the episode's most dramatic or colourful scenes and characters, often by expanding or adding speeches or other set pieces: Venus' indignant speech against Psyche (4.30, 79 words) runs for seven stanzas (16–22), while her subsequent search for Cupid (immediately encountered in the original) leads to a pursuit of him

through many Italian cities (stanzas 25–31), finally encountering him in Marino's own home region of Naples. The evil sisters' fictional description of the supposed serpent who is Psyche's husband is massively exaggerated over six stanzas (136–41), while Psyche's preparations to kill Cupid are narrated in dramatizing slow motion (stanzas 159–63), and Cupid's speech of rebuke after her discovery of his identity is extended to four stanzas (168–71), just as Venus' speech of rebuke to Cupid after her discovery of the marriage covers ten stanzas (201–9).

Cupid's role as narrator naturally leads to saying more about his role in the story, often passed over in silence by Apuleius: the moment when Cupid first sees Psyche (in Apuleius there is no encounter until they meet in the bedroom) stimulates a detailed catalogue of her physical charms (38–42) and a rapturous monologue from the smitten god (43–5); likewise he is charmed by seeing her asleep at his palace (87). It also leads to some narrative issue: Cupid as narrator cannot give the details of Psyche's reaction to her discovery of his identity (162), so it is laid out in her description of the event to her sister (186–8), extended from the original.

Psyche herself is naturally a major focus of additional characterization, sometimes with evident classical sources outside Apuleius: exposed on the cliff, she is presented as an abandoned heroine addressing the sea (62–4), echoing Ariadne in Catullus 64, in which she sees death as preferable to her monstrous marriage; another mini-monologue is added to express her despair on being abandoned by Cupid (173–4). As she wanders in search of Cupid, she is characterized by a famous simile from the *Aeneid* of the wounded hind, describing Dido in love (, cf. *Aeneid* 4.68–73):[55]

> Di me novelle investigando invano,
> quasi smarrita e saettata cerva
> fugge per boschi a più poter lontano
> del'orgogliosa dea l'ira proterva.
>
> (217.1–4)
>
> In vain seeking for news of me
> Like a hind lost and arrow-wounded
> She flees through the woods to place at distance
> The violent anger of the proud goddess.

Psyche's advertised role in Marino's poem as a model of constancy and endurance in love emerges occasionally in the poet's own commentary on

the action—for example, when Psyche approaches the first task that Venus sets her, sorting the grains:

> Vadan pur fra’ tiranni i corpi inermi,
> l’armi però del cor forza non rompe,
> la costanza viril, ch’è ne’ tormenti
> lo scudo adamantin degl’innocenti.
>
> (246.5–8)
>
> Though unarmed bodies pass amongst tyrants
> Yet force cannot break the armour of the heart,
> Manly courage, which is in the midst of torments
> The adamantine shield of the innocent.

‘Manly courage’ here picks up the idea that Psyche acts with male daring, a point made in the original when Psyche exhorts herself to face Venus with a ‘manly spirit’ (6.5 *masculum…animum*).

The role of Venus’ tasks as a test of the heroine’s endurance in love is again stressed when Psyche succeeds in the third task, the water of Styx:

> e, fra tante sciagure, in lei risorge
> speme che la rinfranca e la conforta,
> ch’ha sotto ignudo petto armato core,
> forte, senon di ferro, almen d’amore.
>
> (271.5–8)
>
> And amid such calamities there re-arose in her
> Hope that cheered and comforted her
> Which has armed a heart beneath an unprotected breast,
> Made strong if not with iron at least with love.

Marino modifies the original most radically in the last part of the story. Venus’ last task, the fetching of Proserpina’s ointment from the Underworld,[56] is narrated in a rapid summary accomplished by the rhetorical device of *praeteritio* (277–8: ‘I shall not narrate…), and her fatal fainting is caused not by her curiosity (a vice that has no place in Marino), but rather by a simple attack from Somnus (278). Most strikingly, Marino gives Psyche a scene with Venus when she returns (not in the original), in which the princess justifies herself to the goddess in terms of the tale’s moral values as set out by Marino (281–8), stating that *una devota affezzion tutt’osa* | *e fa potere ogn’impossibil cosa*, ‘a devoted affection dares all | and makes possible every impossible thing’ (281.7–8) and asking for a respite from persecution, pointing out that she herself did not claim to rival Venus in beauty, that she cannot be blamed for the latter’s consequences (283), and

that any errors on her part were made in ignorance (284); she claims that she is still faithful to Cupid, though she is unworthy, and ready to die if she cannot be with him (285), and that she hopes to arouse pity, even pardon in Venus' breast (286). Venus is moved and feels a 'strange tenderness' (287: *tenerezza nova*), but as a goddess cannot show defeat; as in the original, it is Jupiter who calls on her formally to concede the marriage. This concern to provide some kind of reconciliation between Psyche and Venus (absent from the original) will be seen again (e.g. in La Fontaine), and fits a reception of this pagan story in a Christian context, though Marino generally resists Christian allegory here. As in Udine's *Psiche* (above), the child of the marriage is named Diletto, 'delight'.

Marino's efforts to present his version of C&P as a moral fable about constancy in love proved futile. When his former friend Cardinal Maffeo Barberini became pope as Urban VIII in the year of *Adone*'s publication, Marino travelled back to Italy with high hopes of patronage; but the *Adone* was at once placed on the index of banned books,[57] no doubt for its essentially amoral central plot (a goddess's tragic affair with a younger man) and many erotic passages.[58] Nevertheless, Marino's version of our story was influential over the next half-century in his adoptive country of France (see Chapter 2) and Germany too (see Chapter 3). In the early modern period Italy was clearly the origin of the diffusion of C&P into the vernacular literatures of Europe, especially of its status in French literature, to which we turn in Chapter 2.

5. Selecting the Material

There is so much material on C&P that we necessarily had to be selective, and so we chose to restrict our focus to a few European literatures (French, German, and UK English), and to limit ourselves to certain periods within these European literatures we discuss—namely, to the periods we felt most consequential for the development of the story's reception. The final section of Chapter 1 and the whole of Chapter 2 show the key role of the reception of C&P in the emergence of the literary fairy tale in early modern Italy and France, while Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate how its allegorical and Platonist interpretations stimulated many writers in German and British

Romanticism.[59] Chapters 5, 6, and 7 look at further developments and diversifications over the last two centuries.

Receptions in other periods and languages could only be touched upon. In addition to the major Italian and Spanish elements mentioned in the previous section, where the references given provide indications of areas for further research, the brief analysis of Couperus in Chapter 5 may be supplemented by the further work of van der Paardt (1989) on Dutch receptions. In Russian, apart from the Russian adaptation of La Fontaine's version for the Francophile world of Catherine the Great in the mock-epic poem *Dushenka* (1783) by Ippolit Fyodorovich Bogdanovich (1744–1803), mentioned in Chapter 2, the influence of Psyche has been traced on the character of the heroine Tatiana in Pushkin's great 1833 verse novel *Evegnii Onegin* (Bethea 2003).

Much more could be said about German, French, or English literature in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[60] We incline to believe that recent suggestions of survival of the C&P story in modern Berber oral narratives in North Africa (Plantade and Plantade 2014) are more likely to be derived from earlier European receptions introduced by French colonialism, just as the arrival of Apuleius in South America (Laird 2021) or Japan (Watanabe 2011) was the consequence of growing Western influence. The use of C&P in some major writers of US fiction has been noted by scholars,[61] but merits more investigation. For example, Edgar Allan Poe's (1809–49) plume-winged 'Psyche, my soul' in his haunting ballad 'Ulalume' (1847) or the first-person narrator 'The Psyche Zenobia' with her tale-within-a-tale 'The Scythe of Time', in his mock-gothic short story of that title, represent two main recurring themes in his writing: the death of a young woman and the insane narrator.[62] The American short story of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a genre Poe pioneered, is a fruitful area of study. Here C&P can be read variously as a psychological exploration of Psyche's character or as a variant of the fairy tale; the latter is a particularly fruitful approach, as Gaisser (2020) showed in her study of Eudora Welty's novella *The Robber Bridegroom*.[63] It is clear that the short story is a genre well suited to Apuleius' relatively short but perfectly formed tale.

Another aspect of reception we have not been able to cover in the amount of detail it deserves is that of visual arts and musical representations, where C&P has been richly influential since 1650. Our

conference volume May and Harrison (2020) contains a number of chapters in this area, and in an appendix to this current book we have provided a collection of WWW links for the artistic representations mentioned here and for the rich theme of Cupid and Psyche in art in general. Material on art, theatre, opera, and classical music can also be found in the invaluable brief listings in Davidson Reid (1993) as well as (for art) the richly illustrated Cavicchioli (2002) and Bernardini (2012), and our Epilogue charts some recent developments that may point to the assured future of Cupid and Psyche as an inspiration for the arts as well as for literature.

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[1] For a full account of Apuleius and his cultural context, see Harrison (2000a).

[2] For a convenient summary of his life and output, see Harrison (2000a: 1–38), drawn on here.

[3] For these developments, see Harrison (2013: 13–37).

[4] For the arguments, see, e.g., Dowden (1994) (early), Harrison (2000a: 9–12) (summarized here), and May (2007: 43, n. 170) (late).

[5] See Harrison (2013: 81–95).

[6] See Harrison (2013: 179–96).

[7] See, e.g., Kenney (1990: 12–17).

[8] See especially Stramaglia (2010). The Aristophontes of Athens mentioned by Fulgentius in the sixth century CE (see further below) as having written a lengthy account of the story (*Mythologiae* 3.6) could conceivably be pre-Apuleian (he is known from no other source).

[9] For these see especially Zimmerman et al. (1998, 2004).

[10] See, e.g., Harrison (2013: 134–78).

[11] May (2006); see pp. 209–12 for tragic, and pp. 212–48 for comic motifs in Cupid and Psyche.

[12] This view is consistent with the persuasive history of the fairy tale set out by Bottigheimer (2009).

[13] Famously argued for by Merkelbach (1962).

[14] For a good outline survey of Apuleian reception overall, see Carver and Schaaf (2010); for one of the story of Cupid and Psyche, see Gaisser (2017); for one of the figure of Psyche, see Steigerwald (2010); and for an encyclopedic list of works featuring Apuleius' Psyche, see Davidson Reid (1993: ii. 939–55). As noted in our Preface, a further collection of complementary case studies for the period since 1600 can be found in May and Harrison (2020); for the period before 1650, see the full treatments of Carver (2007) and Gaisser (2008).

[15] See further Carver (2007: 41–7) and Gaisser (2008: 53–9).

[16] Ernnst (1515). On Apuleius and Martianus Capella, see Kahane (2021); on Fulgentius most recently, see Gaisser (2021).

[17] Zimmerman et al. (2004).

[18] For which see Gaisser (2008: 76–157).

[19] See, e.g., Bajoni (1994). His patient Griselda (*Decameron* 10.10) is likely to owe something to Psyche: see Candido (2021).

[20] See further Carver (2007: 133–41) and Gaisser (2008: 110–21).

[21] See further Carver (2007: 161–72) and Gaisser (2008: 157–72).

[22] See Carver (2007: 261–2).

[23] For the works mentioned in this paragraph, see Carver (2007: 298–445).

[24] See also Harrison (2021) for a recent fuller analysis.

[25] Full detailed overviews of the Spanish reception of C&P can be found in the older studies of de Latour (1879) and Bonilla (1908); for a more recent summary list, see Martos (2003: i, pp. lxxxvi–vii).

[26] For the evidence, see Rull (1999: 550–1).

[27] On the two versions and their background, see further Küpper (2001) and Rull (2002). Calderon's Toledo version was summarized by Robert Southey (1774–1843) in *Omniana* no. 68 (Southey 1812: 128–32), the year before he became poet laureate; see further https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/calderon_europa/indice.htm.

[28] For the date of composition of this work, see Rull (1999), for brief literary discussion, see Rull (2000), and for a handy modern English translation, see Woolsey (2002).

[29] See Wilson (1994) (who also shows that ancient Greek novels are influential on this text). For further links between Apuleius and Cervantes, see Núñez (2021).

[30] The old overview by de Maria (1899) is still the fullest treatment of the reception of Psyche in Italy from antiquity to the nineteenth century.

[31] Gaisser (2007: 195); see also her useful survey of these early Italian receptions (2007: 129–242). For Boiardo's important adaptation (omitting book 11 and with a Christianizing finale), see Acocella (2001: 53–70).

[32] Cf. Cavicchi (2012). For further poetic and dramatic allusions in the sixteenth century, see de Maria (1899: 78–95, 125–39) and Ussia (2001).

[33] For a convenient account of Correggio's poem, see Stillers (2002).

[34] Like Boiardo, it omits book 11, and has a Christianizing finale: for more details, see Acocella (2001: 76–8).

[35] For a useful account, see Guthmüller (2002).

[36] For a treatment of Udine's version in comparison with those of Basile and Marino as all belonging to the baroque, see Rak (2010).

[37] See Cavicchi (2013).

[38] The wedding of Cupid and Psyche (with both depicted in child form) had been a subject in Roman art, too, probably independently of Apuleius (cf. Schlam 1976); see, e.g., the famous Marlborough cameo, no. 1 in Boardman et al. (2009), currently in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession number 99.101, https://collections.mfa.org/objects/155692, or the child sarcophagus in the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-132.

[39] See Cavicchioli (2002: 64–79, with images) on the splendid examples by the Master of the Argonauts (1475) and Jacopo del Sellaio, which focus on Psyche's story and travails in a series of interconnected images and both featuring a particularly large image of her wedding.

[40] These images make use of extra romantic elements from Correggio's 1491 adaptation (see above); see Cavicchioli (2002: 110–16). For more on these frescoes, see Shearman (1964), Marek (1984), and Gerlini (2006), and, for online images, see https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loggia_di_Psiche.

[41] For all these, see Cavicchioli (2002: 86–154).

[42] See Rak (1986) for the original Neapolitan text with Italian translation, and Canepa (2007, 2016) for an annotated English translation (which points out the parallels with Apuleius noted here, not yet absorbed by Apuleian scholars).

[43] For more detail on this story and its important role as a source for the Brothers Grimm, see Chapter 3, Section 8.

[44] For the social and intellectual context of Basile's work, see Canepa (1999: 35–52), and for his clear use of Apuleius, see Maggi (2015) and Praet (2018).

[45] Cf., e.g., Thomson (1946: 97–100, 282) and especially Swahn (1955). This led to the playing-down of the Apuleian influence in modern accounts of the origin of the European fairy tale: see, e.g., McGlathery (1991) and Canepa (1997). For detailed analysis of some of Basile's debts to Apuleius, see Chapter 3, Section 8.

[46] We know nothing of Basile's education, but it is very unlikely that he did not read Latin; Canepa (1999) quotes a contemporary biography (1637) that states that Basile engaged when young in 'study of the choicest letters' (p. 45), and notes that he was a member of two learned academies (pp. 50–1).

[47] Rak (1986: 1071–2).

[48] See Ussia (2001: 113–26) and de Troia (2009).

[49] See further Maggi (2015), Bottigheimer (2009: 53–74), and Chapter 3 on the link with the Grimms, where more details of Basile's tales are given as a background to the Grimms' adaptations of them.

[50] See, e.g., de Maria (1899: 87).

[51] Kluge (2012: 103). The allegories were composed, not by Marino himself, but by Don Lorenzo Scoto, perhaps a more serious moralist.

[52] My translation of the Italian text (as also below), which can be found conveniently online at https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Adone/Canto_IV.

[53] Kluge (2012). For the most recent overview of the poem in English, see Caruso (2013: 49–72).

[54] See, e.g., de Troia (2009).

[55] Just as Apuleius' Psyche is compared to Virgil's Dido through a different image at *Met.* 5.21 (see Harrison 2013: 44–5).

[56] Here Marino follows Correggio (above) in modifying the original's request for a day's supply of Proserpina's beauty (*Met*. 6.16) into one for a cosmetic.

[57] For the sequence of events, see Caruso (2013: 97–9).

[58] It is notable that Marino maintains from Apuleius' original Venus' promise of a French kiss as a reward for finding Psyche (236).

[59] Later psychological analyses use Psyche as a Jungian archetype: for a recent account of these, see Benson (2020), and, for a practical classroom use of C&P in psychology, see Diessner and Burke (2011).

[60] See the essays in May and Harrison (2020) for some examples. Notable further authors to be mentioned in this context include, for example, Frederick Tennyson (1807–98), brother of Alfred, whose poem 'Psyche' in blank verse in *Daphne and Other Poems* (1891: 273–324) portrays Psyche as the 'soul'; or the modernist poet H.D. (Hilda Dolittle, 1886–1961), who features Psyche imagery in her poems—for example, 'Tribute to the Angels' features an Isis-like female appearing like 'Psyche, the butterfly | out of the cocoon'. In German, the novella *Psyche* (1875) by Theodor Storm (1817–88) uses the motif of C&P artwork to delineate the love between an artist and the woman he saves from drowning. We were not able to cover the wide range of C&P in psychoanalytical literature, much of it in German, during this period. In French reception, we would like to point to Pierre Martin Victor Richard de Laprade (1812–83), a French poet of religious verse, whose *Psyché* (1841) combines classical motifs of the Cupid and Psyche story with biblical themes—for example, comparing Psyche to Eve; Georges Jean-Aubry (1882–1950), whose poem 'Psyché', set to music by the Spanish composer Manuel de Falla y Matheu (1876–1946), was performed in Granada in 1924; or the erotic novel *Psyché* of Pierre Louÿs' (1870–1925). Some of these items are depicted and further described at https://library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections/view/1594/facets_of_apuleius_golden_ass_in_the_brotherton_collection_at_leeds.

[61] See Chapter 7 above, n. 5.

[62] For the 'death and the maiden' motif, see Chapter 3. Poe was a friend of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (they exchanged letters, for example, and Poe dedicated his volume *The Raven and Other Poems* (New York, 1845) to her), and knew the German literature well.

[63] Sonia Sabnis's work on American short stories and C&P is currently in progress and was the subject of a illuminating paper at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel VI in Ghent in September 2022. Sabnis covered a wide range of texts, from Louisa May Alcott, 'Psyche's Art' (1858; a continuation of the characters as artists as also seen in Brunnow); Edith Wharton, 'The Lamp of Psyche' (1895); O. Henry, 'Psyche and the Psyscraper' (1912); Shirley Jackson, 'The Daemon Lover' (1949; the short story shares a title with Sylvia Plath's poem with Apuleian features (see Ranger 2020) and the folk ballad); to very recent adaptations such as Joyce Carol Oates, 'Cupid and Psyche' (1970; a psychological study), Lucy Hughes-Hallett, 'Psyche' (2019), and several others.

2

Cupid and Psyche in France, 1650–1815

1. Introduction: From Italy to France

The rich literary reception of Cupid and Psyche in Renaissance and early baroque Italy briefly outlined at the end of Chapter 1 led directly to the high profile of the story in France in the seventeenth century; this was part of a larger cultural movement in which all kinds of art forms spread from Italy to France in this period, not least through the activities of Italian artists and their patrons.[1] Guillaume Michel had produced the first French translation of the *Metamorphoses* as early as 1517,[2] and the next century or so saw various further translations and vernacular receptions of the Psyche story in France, the most substantial of which was actually in Italian:[3] as we have seen in Chapter 1, Giambattista Marino's vast mannerist poem *Adone* with its major C&P episode was first published in Paris in 1623. Soon afterwards, the prolific writer Jean Puget de la Serre (1594–1665)[4] published a prose retelling 'Les Amours de Cupidon et Psyché' in his early collection *Les Amours des dieux* (1624), apparently stimulated by Marino and possibly echoed in La Fontaine's more elaborate work a generation later.[5] De la Serre's loose and unexciting paraphrase is followed by a substantial 'Discours sur la moralité de la fable', which pursues a learned and earnestly Christian allegorical interpretation of the tale, echoing a prominent feature of Marino (see Chapter 1 again) and a consistent element in C&P's earlier Italian reception.[6]

It was the youthful passion for dancing and music of Marino's patron's grandson Louis XIV (b. 1638, ruled 1643–1715) that played a decisive role in the rise of the story of Cupid and Psyche to considerable cultural

prominence in France.[7] The episode's first notable appearance in seventeenth-century court culture appears to have been in the poet Isaac de Benserade's libretto for *Psyché, ou de la puissance de l'amour*, a *ballet de cour* (ceremonial court ballet) for Louis of 1656, with music by Jean-Baptiste Boësset and the Italian-born Jean-Baptiste Lully (Giovanni Baptista Lulli, 1632–97), then the most high-profile composer in France.[8] Benserade (1613–91) was a key author of the libretti for the many *ballets de cour* performed at the court of Louis XIV, writing more than twenty in the period 1651–81.[9] His *Psyché* relates only very loosely to Apuleius' original.[10] The action is divided into two main parts: the first describes the wonders of the palace of Cupid, while in the second Cupid himself entertains Psyche there with shows and marvels of his own devising. There is the usual large number of short dance scenes (*entrées*) and multiple parts to provide roles for a wide range of courtiers, all specified in the contemporary publication of the libretto; Louis himself played the part (among others) of the returning Spring and the regal Pluto,[11] his flamboyant brother Monsieur (Phillipe, Duc d'Orléans) the Amazon queen Talestris and Hymen, and few of the parts matched those of the original except for the protagonists Cupid and Psyche.[12]

One recent precursor of Lully and Benserade's 1656 ballet in putting C&P on the stage was the Italian opera *L'amore inamorato* (1642) by the distinguished Venetian composer Francesco Cavalli (1602–76), with an elaborate and irreverent libretto by members of the Venetian literary Accademia degli Incogniti,[13] which reproduces Apuleius' story in a little more detail than Benserade (with many innovations) and has three ballet sequences.[14] Though there is no evidence for the performance of this piece in France during his lifetime, Cavalli, trained by Monteverdi at St Mark's in Venice, where he himself became *maestro di cappella*,[15] did have palpable influence in Paris; his operas *L'Egisto* and *Serse* were performed there in 1646 and 1655, respectively, and he resided in the city in 1660–2 to work with both Lully and Benserade on the opera *Ercole amante* (1662), originally commissioned by Louis's Italian-born chief minister Cardinal Mazarin (Giulio Raimondo Mazzarino, 1604–61) for the king's 1660 wedding to Maria Theresa of Spain.[16]

This performance reception of Cupid and Psyche was soon to be combined with another mode, the extensive 1669 paraphrase of the tale by

Jean de La Fontaine, the subject of this chapter's next section. This was the basis for the libretti of two later stage versions, a *tragédie-ballet* of 1671 principally by Molière and a *tragédie lyrique* of 1678 by Thomas Corneille, for both of which Lully (again) composed the music; the former of these, as we shall see, was soon adapted in Charles II's London, for which Louis XIV's Paris was often a fashionable cultural source. Very soon after the publication of La Fontaine's prose version, the classical scholar and future bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet, in his pioneering essay on the history of the novel (1670), implied that the figure of Psyche was now known to all, surely an allusion to La Fontaine,[17] and we will follow how the story of Psyche as told by La Fontaine became an element in the grand debate of the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns and in the beginnings of the fairy tale in France, serving as the origin of the tale of Beauty and the Beast.[18]

2. Jean de La Fontaine, *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669)

Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon ('The Loves of Psyche and Cupid', hereafter *LAPC*) by Jean de La Fontaine (1621–95),[19] best known for his Aesopic verse fables, is his longest single work, extending to nearly 140 pages in the standard Pléiade edition,[20] and one of his few extensive compositions predominantly in prose, though its prosimetric frame contains a number of inserted poems. Its composition is heralded in the epilogue to the first collection (books I–VI) of his *Fables* (1668), and the work was duly published in 1669. Its two books contain a much expanded version of the story of Cupid and Psyche, surrounded by a frame narrative:[21] the French work is more than twice the length of the Latin original overall, and draws on vernacular sources in French and Italian (including Marino, see Chapter 1) as well as on Apuleius' original.[22] The frame narrative is not the lengthy Apuleian novel of the ass, but a briefer contemporary tale of four friends in contemporary Paris—Acante, Poliphile, Ariste, and Gelaste[23]—who go to the then-expanding palace-park of Versailles to hear Poliphile's version of the story of Cupid and Psyche. The opening sequence of the work is dedicated to an elaborate description of some of the wonders of the gardens of Versailles, at the time being laid out by André Le Nôtre (*LAPC*

127–33). Here, then, as in the dramatic versions mentioned above, we find a close link between versions of C&P and the French royal court.

LAPC has been a popular subject in recent literary analysis, which has been especially keen to discuss its generic identity and vernacular sources.The present chapter aims to make a contribution from the classical perspective by considering La Fontaine's adaptation of his Latin original and its various motivations in the light of the context just outlined. La Fontaine clearly knew Latin well and writes translations and versions of a number of Latin episodes in the *Fables*.[24] There seems little doubt that he could have read Apuleius' Latin directly, though he may also have used some of the several available French or Italian translations of the tale.[25] In his preface he is clear that several parts of the tale are his own additions (*LAPC* 124):

> Il y a quelques épisodes de moi, comme l'aventure de la grotte, le vieillard et les deux bergères, le temple de Vénus et son origine, la description des enfers, et tout ce qui arrive à Psyché pendant le voyage qu'elle y fait, et à son retour jusqu'à la conclusion de l'ouvrage.
>
> Some of the episodes are mine, such as the adventure of the grotto, the old man and the two shepherdesses, the temple of Venus and its origin, the description of the Underworld, and everything that happens to Psyche during her journey there, and on her return up to the end of the work.

The learned reader is thus clearly invited to compare the new version with its antique original. The two major departures from the main narrative sequence of Apuleius are carefully marked to this end. When the story is interrupted in book 1 for the dialogue in the frame narrative (see below), the narrator Poliphile asks to leave Psyché at the point where her story becomes tragic, an arch reference for the reader of the original, who knows that we are only halfway through and that the story will have a happy ending (*LAPC* 174):

> Dispensez-moi de vous raconter le reste: vous seriez touchés de trop de pitié au récit que je vous ferais.
>
> > Là finit de Psyche le bonheur et la gloire,
> > Et là votre plaisir pourrait cesser aussi.
> > Ce n'est pas mon talent d'achever une histoire
> > Qui se termine ainsi.
>
> Excuse me from telling you the remainder: you would be touched by too much pity for the tale I would bring you.

> There Psyche's happiness and glory ends,
> And there your pleasure could cease too.
> It is not my skill to conclude a story
> Which finishes so.

But, of course, the story must continue, to follow the Apuleian narrative. Likewise, the adaptation from Tasso on Psyché's sojourn with the old man in the country (see below) ends with a conscious return to the traditional plot and a teasing allusion to the (non-existent) further adventures of the old man and his family (*LAPC* 212):[26]

> Je vous conterais ses aventures si je ne m'étais point prescrit des bornes plus resserrées. Peut-être qu'un jour les mémoires que j'ai recueillis tomberont entre les mains de quelqu'un qui s'exercera sur cette matière, et qui s'en acquittera mieux que moi: maintenant je n'achèverai que l'histoire de notre héroine.
>
> I would tell you his adventures had I not set myself strict boundaries. Perhaps the notes that I have gathered will fall into the hands of someone who will make an effort on this subject, and who will acquit themselves in it better than me; now I will just finish the story of our heroine.

Thus *LAPC* consciously plays with the narrative trajectory of its ancient model by clear marking of actual and potential digressions from the original plot line.

The overall relationship between La Fontaine and his original is best laid out in Table 1, which shows equivalences and differences in the parallel episodes, marked with the same numbers in each text (LF for La Fontaine, AP for Apuleius). Variations from Apuleius in La Fontaine are marked with underlining.[27]

Table 1 Comparative contents of La Fontaine, *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon*, and Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche (*Met.*4.28-6.24)

La Fontaine, *Psyché*	**Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche***
LAPC 127–34: frame of visit to Versailles; praise of the palace and park	**NOT IN APULEIUS**
	[7 extra pages]
LF1 *LAPC* 134–42: Beginning of Psyche story up to her journey to Cupid's palace.	**AP1** *Met*. 4.28–35: Beginning of Psyche story up to her arrival at Cupid's palace [4.5 pages].
[NO BOOK DIVISION]	**BOOK DIVISION [4–5]**
LF2 *LAPC* 142–9: Psyche settles in at the palace and is united with Cupid	**AP2** *Met*. 5.1–4: Psyche settles in at the palace and is united with Cupid [2 pages]
LF2A *LAPC* 150–8: lovers' dialogue of Cupid and Psyche	**NOT IN APULEIUS [9 extra pages]**
LF3 *LAPC* 159–65: Psyche's sisters arrive at the palace and see its wonders.	**AP3** *Met*. 5.5–8: Psyche's sisters arrive at the palace and see its wonders [2.5 pages]
LF4 *LAPC* 166–71: Psyche's sisters incite her to kill Cupid as a monster.	**AP4** *Met*. 5.9–20: Psyche's sisters incite her to kill Cupid as a monster [6.5 pages]
LF5 *LAPC* 171–4: Psyche's attempt to kill Cupid and the revelation of his true identity; Cupid awakes.	**AP5** *Met*. 5.21–3: Psyche's attempt to kill Cupid and the revelation of his true identity; Cupid awakes [1.5 pages]
	NOT IN APULEIUS [14 extra pages]
LF5A *LAPC* 174–88: dialogue between the four frame characters on the relative merits of tragedy and comedy. Reprise of the wonders of Versailles.	**[NO BOOK DIVISION]**
BOOK DIVISION [1–2]	**AP6** *Met.* 5.24: Cupid departs [0.5 pages]
LF6 *LAPC* 188–9: Cupid departs.	**AP7** *Met*. 5.25–7: Psyche attempts suicide in the river (which rescues her), is comforted by Pan, and takes vengeance on her sisters. [2 pages]
LF7 LAPC 189–92: The palace disappears. Psyche attempts suicide by self-precipitation and is rescued by the Zephyr at Cupid's command to keep her alive for more suffering. She attempts suicide again in the river and is rescued by two Nymphs, who comfort her.	**NOT IN APULEIUS [2 extra pages]**
	AP7A *Met*. 5.28–31 Venus discovers Psyche's identity, rebukes Cupid, and furiously pursues Psyche heedless of the attempts of Ceres and Juno to soften her. [2.5 pages]
LF7A *LAPC* 192–4: Cupid reappears to taunt Psyche and tells her to take vengeance on her sisters; she offers to be his slave. He disappears, and Psyche carries on with her wanderings.	**NOT IN APULEIUS [20 extra pages]**
	[cf. AP7 above]
Venus sends servants to capture Psyche.	**BOOK DIVISION [5–6]**
LF7B *LAPC* 193–212: Psyche encounters the exiled old fisherman and his granddaughters and takes up a pastoral life.	**AP8** *Met.* 6.1–5 Psyche asks Ceres and Juno for help in vain [2.5 pages]
LF7C *LAPC* 213–18 Psyche seeks and takes vengeance on her sisters, while being herself sought by Venus (cf. 213–14 proclamation).	**AP9** *Met*. 6.6–10 Psyche is sought by Venus via proclamation and surrenders to her on Olympus. She is harshly treated and beaten. [2 pages]
[NO BOOK DIVISION]	**AP10** *Met.* 6.11–21. First part of Psyche's labours for Venus: 1. sorting out the grain, aided by ants, 2. getting wool from golden-fleeced sheep, aided by the reed, 3. fetching water from the cliff-top spring, aided by the eagle. [2.5 pages]
LF8 *LAPC* 219–21 Psyche asks Ceres and Juno for help in vain, and also Diana.	**[cf. AP7A above]**
LF9 *LAPC* 221–32 Psyche goes to the temple of Venus (described at some length), surrenders to her, and is taken to Cyprus in Venus' chariot. She is harshly treated and beaten.	**[cf. AP10 above]**
	AP11 *Met.* 6.16–21: Psyche's last labour—

La Fontaine, *Psyché*	**Apuleius, *Cupid and Psyche***
LF10 *LAPC* 232–5: First part of Psyche's labours for Venus, aided by servants of Cupid: 1. fetching water from the fountain of Youth, 2. getting wool from the golden-fleeced sheep of the Sun [also aided by Juno and Ceres]. **LF10A** *LAPC* 234–7: Ceres and Juno try to soften Venus, and also visit Cupid; Venus rebukes Cupid. **LF10B** *LAPC* 238–40: Psyche's third labour: sorting out the grain, aided by ants. **LF11** *LAPC* 240–8: Psyche's last labour—descent to the Underworld to fill a box with Proserpina's face powder. Psyche succeeds. On her return, Psyche opens the box, and her face and neck are covered with dark stain. **LF12** *LAPC* 248–54: Psyche retreats to the forest; Cupid finds her in a cave and saves her. **LF12B** *LAPC* 254–6: Psyche and Venus are reconciled. **LF13** *LAPC* 256–7: Jupiter whitens Psyche's skin, and after some negotiation makes her a goddess. Cupid and Psyche are married and have a daughter Pleasure, who is worshipped as a goddess.	descent to the Underworld to fill a box with Proserpina's face powder. Psyche succeeds. On her return, Psyche opens the box, and she falls into a deep and deadly sleep. [2.5 pages] **AP12** *Met.* 6.21–2. Cupid saves Psyche [0.5 pages] **[NB MUCH EXTENDED IN LA FONTAINE] NOT IN APULEIUS [2 extra pages]** **AP13** *Met.* 6.22–4: Jupiter makes Psyche a goddess after some negotiation. Cupid and Psyche are married and have a daughter Pleasure [1.5 pages]

The variation in book-breaks between the two texts has some interest. Apuleius' tale, though in effect two books long like that of La Fontaine, consciously spreads itself over three books, beginning near the end of book 4 of the *Metamorphoses* and ending near the end of book 6, a playful segmentation that is repeated in other aspects of Apuleius' novel.[28] This allows two major climaxes within the story to be placed at the ends of books, Psyche's magical transportation to Cupid's palace at the end of book 4 and Venus' engagement in the hunt for Psyche at the end of book 5. La Fontaine's version understandably chooses to place its only book-break at the climactic moment at the centre of the story, where Psyche illicitly discovers Cupid's identity, precipitating her wanderings and other tribulations.

Especially significant is the material added or modified by La Fontaine, all of which looks to the cultural concerns of his own time. Primarily, we have the overall added narrative frame of the four cultured friends and their visit to Versailles, as well as many individual variations of the original in the enclosed tale itself. In what follows I will consider the effect of the added frame on La Fontaine's modification of Apuleius' enclosed tale, look at an addition highlighted by La Fontaine himself, as already noted, the

pastoral episode with the old man, and point out one modification he does not mention—the much greater emphasis on the interplay between the two main lovers, which places his work squarely in the traditional form of the pastoral romance. I will also suggest that *LAPC* presents some subtle allusions to the three ancient Greek novels that were freely available in seventeenth-century France.

One evident function of the narrative frame is to provide a bridge to La Fontaine's own period and a point of departure that is of immediate interest to contemporary readers.[29] The four characters' visit to Versailles is plainly intended to honour and praise the young Louis XIV's current project to remodel his father's hunting lodge and park into the greatest royal palace of Europe, overseen by his chief minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Both Louis and Colbert are handsomely complimented in the reprise of the wonders of Versailles at the end of the first book, in which Louis is compared as ever to the Sun god in a heightened verse passage describing a carriage run in the park (*LAPC* 185):

> Là, dans des chars dorés, le Prince avec sa cour
> Va goûter la fraîcheur sur le déclin du jour.
> L'un et l'autre Soleil, unique en son espèce,
> Étale aux regardants sa pompe et sa richesse.
> Phébus brille à l'envi du monarque françois;
> On ne sait bien souvent à qui donner sa voix.
> There in gilded chariots the Prince with his court
> Will enjoy the cool at the setting of the day.
> One Sun and the other, each unique in his kind,
> Spreads to spectators his pomp and riches.
> Phoebus shines in rivalry to the King of France:
> Often one is unsure to whom to give one's voice.

Immediately after the poem about the king, the minister and contriver of Versailles is similarly singled out in prose, without need to name him, with a final compliment to Louis as Jupiter (*LAPC* 187):

> Poliphile et ensuite ses trois amis prirent là-dessus occasion de parler de l'intelligence qui est l'âme de ces merveilles, et qui fait agir tant de mains savantes pour la satisfaction du monarque. Je ne rapporterai point les louanges qu'on lui donna; elles furent grandes, et par conséquent ne lui plairaient pas. Les qualités sur lesquelles nos quatres amis s'étendirent furent sa fidelité et son zèle. On remarqua que c'est un génie qui s'applique à tout, et ne se relâche jamais. Ses principaux soins sont de travailler pour la grandeur de son maître; mais il ne croit pas que le reste soit indigne de l'occuper. Rien de ce que regarde Jupiter n'est au-dessous des ministres de sa puissance.

> Poliphile and then his three friends at this point took the opportunity to speak of the intelligence which is the soul of these marvels, and which makes so many skilled hands act towards the king's satisfaction. I will not report the praises which were given to him; they were lavish, and thus would not be pleasing to him. The qualities on which our four friends expatiated were his loyalty and his zeal; it was noted that his was a genius which applied itself to everything, and is indefatigable. His principal concerns are to work for the greatness of his master; but he does not believe that the remainder is unworthy of his attention. Nothing which concerns Jupiter is beneath the ministers of his power.

This emphasis on lavish buildings and grounds in the Versailles frame of *LAPC* seems to be transfused into increased stress on such features in the Apuleian adaptation of the work's main plot. La Fontaine's description of Cupid's palace (*LAPC* 142–9) is much longer than that of the original, and its additions of a park, corridors with rooms, and *objets d'art* surely reflect the account already given in the work of Versailles itself, with an implicit comparison between the god Cupid and the young Louis (already compared to Apollo and Jupiter, see above). The artworks in both Versailles and Cupid's palace arouse the narrator to ekphrastic verse: in the initial account of Versailles we have a long poetic description of three bas-reliefs depicting divine figures (*LAPC* 130–3), picked up by a shorter verse account of two of a group of six tapestries in Cupid's palace (*LAPC* 146–7), and in both cases the park is likewise the subject of poetic praise (*LAPC* 149, 185–7; the beginning of the second passage is cited above).

The second description in the tale proper, which connects with that of Versailles in the frame narratives, is that of Venus' temple (*LAPC* 223–8). It is set in grounds of emerald-green grass cut through by a canal that is as wide as a river (*LAPC* 223), and its courtyard is that of a palace rather than a temple, being surrounded by porticoes and overlooked by grand gilded apartments with further rich decoration (*LAPC* 227). It seems very likely that this grand fictional temple recalls the real royal palace and its grounds.[30] Quite different in effect is the story of the temple's foundation (*LAPC* 224–6), where the figures of Myrtis and Megano, two possible brides for a mythical king of Lydia, clearly reflect the two possibilities in store for Psyché at this stage in the plot: Megano fails to gain the love of her prince and dies, while Myrtis succeeds in marrying him. Psyche will follow Myrtis rather than Megano, though that is not clear at this point. This narrative technique of reflecting the main plot of the novel in an inserted tale is wholly Apuleian: the story of Cupid and Psyche itself clearly relates to the overall plot of Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*, and there are many

other instances of this technique in Apuleius' novel.[31] Here La Fontaine's expansion of his Apuleian original clearly owes much to his contemporary frame narrative and the impact of Versailles, but this is combined with echoing a key narrative feature of Apuleius' work.

Apart from the opening, which sets the narrative at Versailles, and the pastoral episode from Tasso, considered in detail below, the most notable expansion of the Apuleian original is the framing dialogue between the four friends near the end of the first book of La Fontaine's work (*LAPC* 174–85). This learned discussion about the relative virtues of tragedy and comedy, invoking Plato, Aristotle, Homer, and Pseudo-Longinus, cleverly plays on the names of the protagonists: Gélaste, whose name refers to laughter, contends that 'la plus saine partie du monde préférera toujours la comédie à la tragédie' ('the healthiest part of the world will always prefer comedy to tragedy' (*LAPC* 177)), while Ariste, whose name suggests high social class, argues that 'le rire…sera…le plaisir des laquais et du menu peuple; le pleurer, celui des honnêtes gens' ('laughter…will be…the pleasure of servants and the populace; weeping, that of genteel people' (*LAPC* 179)). For the reader of the ancient Greek novel, it is hard not to link this Platonic-style dialogue with another Platonic-style dialogue (of a more parodic kind) that also comes at the end of a book, book 2 of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (2.35–8). There Clitophon and Menelaus debate the relative merits of pederasty and heterosexuality, also deploying learned evidence from Plato and Homer.[32] This Greek novel, roughly contemporary with Apuleius, had been translated into French by François de Belleforest in 1568, had been used almost immediately in French works of the late sixteenth century,[33] and would soon be discussed in Huet's 1670 treatise on the history of the novel, already mentioned above. It would surely be fitting for it to be alluded to here in a work that pays such extensive homage to another classic of the ancient novel tradition.

This possible allusion may well be matched by further hints at other ancient Greek novels in *LAPC*; indeed, if that is the case, La Fontaine's novel would allude to all three Greek novels that were then known.[34] The second is the *Aethiopika* of Heliodorus: the heroine of that novel, Charicleia, is an Ethiopian princess who was bizarrely born with white skin, and La Fontaine's Psyché inverts this by having her skin turn black, and is indeed called by the narrator 'la belle Éthiopienne' (*LAPC* 249). The third is Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*: the kind reception of Psyche among the

shepherds and her adoption of pastoral dress (see below) might look to Longus' pastoral novel, where both Daphnis and Chloe, lovingly brought up by herdsmen, turn out to be aristocrats in disguise. Both these novels (like Achilles Tatius) had been available in French since the previous century, in the well-known translations of Jacques Amyot (Longus was published in 1547, Heliodorus in 1559), and, like Achilles Tatius, both Longus and Heliodorus were much used in French vernacular imitations and treated in Huet's work.[35]

The pastoral episode at *LAPC* 193–212 is the most extensive and obvious addition to the Apuleian original. As is generally noted, this episode where Psyche takes refuge with a shepherd family in the forest is taken in general outline from canto VII (stanzas 1–22) of Tasso's 1581 Italian romance epic *Gerusalemme Liberata*, where the heroine princess Erminia (dressed in armour) escapes into a forest and finds refuge with an old man and his shepherd family near the river Jordan. They give her pastoral clothes, and she busies herself with the pastoral life; the old man tells her his life story as a former gardener at the Caliph's court, while she narrates the unhappy story of her frustrated love for the hero Tancred.

These basic features of the original are retained in La Fontaine's adaptation: Psyché morphs from princess to shepherdess, she and the similarly anonymous old man exchange life stories, and the old man has a past at the royal court. But, instead of being a gardener, he was a philosopher and adviser (*LAPC* 201): 'J'étais à la cour d'un roi qui se plaisait à m'entendre, et qui m'avait donné la charge de premier philosophe de sa maison. Outre la faveur, je ne manquais pas de biens' ('I was at the court of a king who enjoyed listening to me, and who had given me the duties of first philosopher in his house. Beside favour, I did not lack for possessions').[36] And, unlike Tasso's gardener, he retired to the country, not because of old age, but because of the importunate suit of the king's son for his widowed daughter, who was pursued by further lovers even into her rustic withdrawal with her father (*LAPC* 201–2). A much larger role is also given to the old man's family: he has two granddaughters, who have been reading romantic novels and debate with Psyché about the nature of love. These modifications plainly refer to the overall themes of La Fontaine's work: the beautiful daughter sought by suitors clearly echoes the situation of Psyché herself at the tale's beginning (*LAPC* 137), while the reference to romantic novels clearly points to the genre of *LAPC* itself.

In Apuleius' original, Cupid and Psyche have very few joint scenes: their conjugal life is mainly silent, apart from their exchanges on the advisability of allowing Psyche's sisters to visit her. In La Fontaine's adaptation, the two lovers are given much more time together, in two symmetrical scenes: that which shows them in lovers' dialogue before Psyche's disastrous attempt to discover her husband's true identity (*LAPC* 150–9) and the episode in which Cupid seeks out and rescues the blackened Psyche from the country (*LAPC* 249–54). To mark the symmetry, both scenes are located in caves, an artificial grotto in Cupid's park (*LAPC* 150) and a real cave in the country (*LAPC* 249). The dalliance of lovers in pastoral landscapes is an element added to the classical story by La Fontaine from the extended repertory of pastoral romance, from which he had already taken the episode of Psyche and the old man drawn from Tasso. Here the tradition evoked is that of the endless lovers' dialogues of two further pastoral novels, the enormous and highly influential *L'Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé (1608–28) and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), the extraordinary early Italian fiction that itself owed something to Apuleius.[37] Both of these were plainly familiar to La Fontaine; the first is twice alluded to in *LAPC* itself (*LAPC* 177, 206) and had earlier been adapted in the poet's drama *Astrée* (1661),[38] while the second is alluded to in the later preface to his *Le Songe de Vaux* (1671) and is clearly laid under contribution in *LAPC*;[39] we should not forget that the name of *LAPC*'s notional narrator Poliphile recalls that of the earlier novel's hero Poliphilo.[40] The relative lack of romantic interplay in the Latin original is thus modified for contemporary French taste and culture, following well-known vernacular and mixed-language texts.

LAPC represents La Fontaine's most sustained engagement with a classical text. In this sense it lays the groundwork for his self-positioning as one of the key advocates of the ancients in the celebrated *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, another confirmation of the key importance of the story of Cupid and Psyche in the literary culture of France under Louis XIV. As we shall see in Section 4, the highly classicizing *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* plays a key role both in the prehistory of this controversy and in the emergence of the fairy tale as a literary form.

3. Psyche on the Stage in the 1670s: France and England

We have already seen that La Fontaine's 1669 retelling popularized the Cupid and Psyche story in the French literary culture of the 1670s.[41] Further evidence for this comes from three major stage versions of the 1670s, which all derive from La Fontaine's paraphrase: Lully's 1671 *Psyché, tragicomédie et ballet*, with text by Molière, Pierre Corneille, and Philippe Quinault, its 1675 English version *Psyche* by Thomas Shadwell with music by Matthew Locke and Giovanni Baptista Draghi, and the 1678 *Psyché, tragédie lyrique*, with music by Lully (expanding his previous score) and text by Thomas Corneille. The 1678 French version rapidly reworked the 1671 piece, which itself drew to some degree on Benserade's 1656 ballet (see above), for which Lully had composed the score; it is not unlikely that the 1678 opera also used elements from the 1674 English version.[42] We begin with summaries of the plots of all three.[43]

Psyché, tragicomédie et ballet (1671)[44]

Prologue: Flora and her followers summon Venus to participate in their games, in celebration of the peace that Louis XIV has brought to the world. Venus arrives in a fury, however, and breaks the hitherto happy musical atmosphere of the prologue. She sends her son to punish Psyche, despite his reticence.

Act One: Psyche's jealous sisters attempt to attract the attention of her two most recent suitors without success. Psyche refuses both suitors before being called away by a messenger. The messenger then informs Psyche's sisters that she must be sacrificed on the mountain top and devoured by a monster. The sisters confess their delight before a group of mourners arrive on stage and sing the first *intermède* (song between acts), a *plainte italienne* (solo voice lament with several sections and some accompaniment).

Act Two: The King informs Psyche of her fate. She accepts it unflinchingly, though her father prefers to defy the gods. After Psyche bids him farewell, her sisters arrive and seem unwilling to leave her alone. Psyche pushes them to save themselves, but they reply that oracles are always mysterious and perhaps her fate will not be so hard after all. They finally leave, and Psyche believes herself to be alone at last to face her doom when her suitors appear to defend her. She chastises their impiety. Their attempt to defend

her is in any case vain, as she is carried away by Zephyr. The set changes for the third act, representing a magnificent palace. At this time, Vulcan sings the second *intermède*, encouraging his crew of Cyclopes to finish building the palace.

Act Three: Zephyr informs Cupid that he has successfully brought Psyche to her new palace and expresses his surprise at Cupid's new, adult appearance. Psyche wakes up and is confused by her splendid surroundings. Rather than being attacked by a monster, Psyche is greeted by the dashing figure of Cupid, who declares his love for her. After a love scene, Psyche impresses upon Cupid (whose identity she still does not know) that she must share her happy fate with her sisters and father. Cupid resists, but finally concedes and sends Zephyr to fetch Psyche's sisters. For the third *intermède*, Cupid invites a lesser Cupid and a Zephyr to sing a divertissement in honour of Love.

Act Four: Psyche's sisters, having seen Psyche's new home, are envious and keen to spoil her happiness. They feed her curiosity regarding the identity of her lover and make her fear his unfaithfulness, suggesting that all the palace may be no more than a lie, an enchantment. Zephyr takes them away. Psyche demands to know the identity of her lover. Cupid resists, saying that to know his identity is to lose him forever, but swears that he will tell her if she wishes it absolutely. She insists, and Cupid confesses his identity, then disappears, taking the palace with him. Alone in a lugubrious setting, Psyche bemoans her fate, and resolves to drown herself in the river. The River God forbids her, saying the heavens do not allow it and that an easier fate may be in store. Venus arrives to chastise and to punish Psyche. In the fourth *intermède* Psyche descends to Hell, where eight Furies dance a ballet to celebrate the rage they have inspired in so sweet a goddess as Venus. Psyche passes in Charon's boat with the box Venus orders her to obtain from Proserpine.

Act Five: Psyche is in Hell and meets her two suitors. They recount how they threw themselves from the rock on which Psyche was sacrificed, having been unable to prevent her death. They also recount the death of her sisters, who voluntarily threw themselves off a cliff, proudly believing that Zephyr would carry them back to Cupid's palace. Psyche, determined to regain the love of Cupid, opens Proserpine's box, hoping to enhance her beauty. But a poisonous vapour comes out of it, rendering her unconscious.

Cupid descends to lament her apparent death and forgives her. Venus arrives and chastises Cupid for his rebellion. He confronts his mother for her cruelty towards the object of his love and calls on Jupiter for aid, who takes his side and grants Psyche immortality (she is revived by Venus). The scene changes from Hell to Heaven, and a great ballet is danced by the followers of Apollo, Bacchus, Momus, and Mars to celebrate the union of Cupid and Psyche.

Psyche (1675 English version)[45]

Act One: Psyche in a pleasant landscape discusses possible marriage and is entertained by Pan and nymphs: Ambition, Power, Plenty, and Peace appear, along with the Furies and Envy. Psyche's two rival lovers turn up and are reconciled by Psyche; Psyche's envious sisters call upon Venus to attack Psyche—she agrees.

Act Two: Psyche's family gather at Apollo's temple to receive the oracle—her sisters rejoice, her father despairs, while the two lovers are sceptical about priests and religion. Two minor pairs of unhappy lovers commit suicide. Psyche is exposed on the rock but rescued by Cupid.

Act Three: Vulcan and the Cyclopes build Cupid's palace. Cupid and Zephyr prepare for Psyche's arrival; she is courted by Cupid, who does not reveal his name. On earth the two rival lovers reappear with priests and followers of Mars and scorn the love of the sisters in their devotion to rescuing Psyche. Psyche asks for her sisters to visit.

Act Four: The envious sisters visit Psyche's palace and meet Cupid; they sow doubt in her mind. Psyche asks Cupid's name; he confesses and leaves. Psyche's father dies; the lovers still seek her. The sisters plot with soldiers to kill the lovers, and abuse the abandoned Psyche, who attempts suicide; she is prevented by the River God, who foretells a happy ending. Psyche confronts an angry Venus, who sends her to the Underworld to fetch the box; the lovers follow her in suicide, and Cupid sends the sisters there, too.

Act Five: In the Underworld with Furies and devils: her sisters abuse Psyche, but Pluto and Proserpina release her to the world above and condemn the sisters to Hell. The dead lovers remain in the blessed parts of the Underworld. Psyche takes the box and opens it—and faints, apparently in death. Venus initially refuses to revive her, then agrees to do so if there is

no contact with Cupid; but Jupiter intervenes and makes Psyche a goddess out of fear of Cupid. Final divine celebration of marriage.

Psyché, tragédie lyrique (1678)[46]

Prologue: practically identical with 1671.

Act One: Psyche's sisters learn with the spectators that Psyche must be sacrificed to a serpent that has been ravaging the kingdom. The *plainte italienne* from 1671 is sung to represent the mourning of the people. Her sisters flee at Psyche's arrival and it is her father who informs her of the oracle that has pronounced her doom. Psyche unhesitatingly climbs the rock to offer herself in sacrifice, much to her father's consternation, and is carried away by Zephyrs.

Act Two: Vulcan and his Cyclopes are building a palace for Psyche at Cupid's bidding. Vulcan is surprised by his wife, Venus, who discovers that her son has betrayed her. She quarrels with her husband and vows revenge against her son. Psyche awakes and is courted by Cupid. Cupid still needs to hide his identity and begins a *divertissement* sung by three nymphs to divert Psyche's attention.

Act Three: Venus disguises herself as a Nymph and gives Psyche a lamp with which to discover the identity of her lover. Psyche is overjoyed to discover that her lover is Cupid himself, but the light of the lamp awakes the god, who flees. At the same time, the palace disappears, and Psyche is left in a desolate wilderness. Venus exposes her treachery to Psyche and further accuses her of trying to marry her way into immortality. She forces her to descend to Hell and recover a box in which Proserpina keeps her beauty. Psyche, in despair, attempts to drown herself, but is saved by the River God, who peacefully accompanies her to the Underworld.

Act Four: In the Underworld, Psyche resists the evocations of infernal tortures by the three Furies until the Nymphs of the Acheron appear, who banish the Furies, give Psyche the box she is looking for, and conduct her to Venus's garden, where the next act is set.

Act Five: Psyche opens the box, hoping to restore any beauty she might have lost during her recent hardships. But, instead of beauty, the box exudes a poisonous vapour that renders Psyche unconscious. Venus appears rejoicing and brings Psyche back to life in order to gloat and torture her further. She is amazed to see that Psyche is still in love with her son despite

so many ordeals, but is resolved to continue punishing her. Mercury descends and begs her to stop, recounting the chaos and suffering in the universe that has been produced by Cupid's displeasure. Venus takes no heed, and Jupiter himself descends to calm the goddess and pronounce Psyche immortal. The lovers are united, and the opera ends with a magnificent ballet, identical to the one closing the 1671 version.

For the two French versions, La Fontaine's paraphrase is the prime source. Here I should like to focus on three points: some elements shared by the two performance texts that are not present in La Fontaine or Apuleius but that have contemporary cultural significance, some differences between the two, and two aspects of the 1671 version, of which the 1678 version is in effect a rapid adaptation:[47] its modifications of certain elements in the original, and its introduction of non-Apuleian classical models.

Both the 1671 and 1678 versions open with references to the peace Louis XIV has brought to the world. This focus on the monarch is natural, given the royal contexts of the first performance both of the 1671 version, first presented in part at the royal palace of the Tuileries in January of that year, and of the 1678 version, first given at the Académie Royale de Musique in April of that year.[48] In both contexts the praise of Louis as peace-bringer is appropriate: in 1671 the War of Devolution with Spain (1667–8) had been over for several years following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1668, while in spring 1678 France was moving towards the end of a six-year war with Holland and the Treaties of Nijmegen of 1678–9 (peace was declared in August).

Three modifications of the Apuleian plot in both versions look to its seventeenth-century cultural context and are shared with La Fontaine. First, in both dramatic versions Psyche accepts her fate unflinchingly and as a matter of willing self-sacrifice; this plays up an element present but less prominent in Apuleius, no doubt under the influence of the figure of the similarly self-sacrificing princess Iphigenia, who was particularly popular in seventeenth-century French drama—for example, in the 1674 *Iphigénie* of Racine.[49] Second, the courtship of Cupid and Psyche takes place, not in darkness and ignorance with little verbal interchange, but in extensive open conversation, much more in tune with contemporary ideas about romance, as found in early novels such as Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée* (1607–28), which indeed had an influence on La Fontaine's version.[50] Third, the original's

references to Psyche's pregnancy during her wanderings are cut out; such premarital sexual contact is clearly indecorous for this cultural level at this period, even though the happy ending of lovers marrying when the girl is pregnant is a standard topic of Roman new comedy—for example, in Terence's *Adelphoe*.[51]

The different genres of the two stage versions are reflected to some extent in their different treatments of the original story. The 1671 *tragicomédie-ballet*, a new hybrid genre, was innovative in harnessing the previous experience of Molière and Lully in *comédie-ballets* such as *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670), integrating ballet and comic drama, with a more serious mythological plot (but still with a happy ending), and showed a particular concern with exploiting newly available stage machinery and spectacular effects. In the 1678 version we find Lully's emerging style of musical *tragédie lyrique*, first seen in *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), the first of many collaborations in the genre with Philippe Quinault, co-librettist with Molière of the 1671 *Psyché*. This also sought integration of music and dance into the whole, but was more ambitious and serious in its text, using the elevated tragic tone of Corneille and Racine with declamatory recitative and high spectacle.[52]

Some of the key differences between the two stage plots seem to reflect this generic contrast. For example, the 1671 subplot of Psyche's sisters who maliciously tempt her to seek her husband's identity against his instructions and are duly punished by being deceived into suicide, a key element in both Apuleius and La Fontaine, is excised in 1678, to be replaced by Venus herself as the enemy who suggests the fatal move: this is one of a number of simplifications in this hastily executed adaptation, but it may suggest that the low and ignoble jealousies of Psyche's sisters are not suitable for the more elevated world of tragic opera. In 1678 the sisters appear only in the opening act, where they are dignified and sympathetic towards their sister in her sufferings. Another omission in 1678 is that of the subplot of Psyche's suitors, itself an addition to Apuleius and La Fontaine; in Act 5, scene 1, of 1671, they appear to Psyche in the Underworld, recounting their own deaths and those of the sisters; this is not especially low in tone (indeed, characters narrating their own modes of death are typical of the Underworld scenes of classical epic—for example, in the *Odyssey* or the *Aeneid*), but creates a little more erotic interest. In 1671, Psyche insists on Cupid revealing his identity to her personally, another element of more

romantic treatment in stressing interplay and converse between the lovers; in 1678, we revert to the Apuleian revelation by lamplight. In 1678, it is the royal father, not a messenger (as in 1671 and elsewhere), who pronounces the fatal oracle about Psyche's husband, introducing more dignity and drama, and there is more emphasis on divisions in the divine family of Olympus, again a Homeric and Vergilian trait.

Examination of the 1671 version also shows that it used a wide range of classical sources outside Apuleius, perhaps in the realization that Apuleius' own tale itself uses a spectrum of models from different classical genres.[53] Ovid is an obvious source: in the Prologue we find several divinities who have extensive backstories in Ovid's major works—Flora, goddess of flowers, with Nymphs (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.183–378), Vertumnus, god of trees and fruit (cf. Ovid, *Met*. 14.623–771), and Palaemon, a marine divinity (cf. Ovid, *Met*. 4.464–542, *Fasti* 6.504–48, though he also appears in Venus' train in C&P, *Met*. 4.31). Human proper names can also be drawn from Ovid: Psyché's sister Aglaure appropriately bears the name of the princess Aglauros, daughter of Pandion, king of Athens, who, like her counterpart, felt envy of her sister's union with a god (Ovid, *Met*. 2.555–61), while her sister Cidippe is a homonym of the beloved of Acontius in the *Heroides* (Ovid, *Her*. 20–1); these names are needed in the stage play, as Apuleius does not name the sisters, and nor does La Fontaine. Likewise, the two suitors introduced to the plot (see above) need names too (Act 1, scene 2): Agenor is named after the king of Tyre, the father of Europa (Ovid, *Met*. 2.858), while Cleomenes recalls not an Ovidian hero but a historical king of Sparta (Livy 34.28.1), both appropriately royal for these two princes. Another Ovidian name is that of Lychas, the unwelcome messenger who brings Apollo's oracle (Act 1, scene 4), evidently drawn from the unfortunate Lichas, killed by Heracles for bringing the deadly gift of the poisoned robe (Ovid, *Met*. 9.211–18, originally from Sophocles' *Trachiniae*).

Vergil and tragedy also have their place. The building of Cupid's palace by Vulcan and the Cyclopes in Act 2, scene 1 (already found in the adaptation of the story in the libretto for Cavalli's *Amore innamorato* of 1642 and Thomas Heywood's *Love's Mistress* of 1636[54]) is plainly drawn from the glimpse of Vulcan's workshop with the Cyclopes making Aeneas' new arms at *Aeneid* 8.416–53, while the helpful river god of Act 4, scene 4, clearly owes something to Vergil's Tiberinus in the same book of the

Aeneid, who likewise prophesies a happy outcome for the protagonist at a time of doubt (8.36–65). As we have already seen, the Iphigenia story was prominent in France in the period, and the dilemma of Psyche's father between his role as parent and his role as monarch in the matter of sacrificing his daughter clearly looks back to the famous dilemma of Agamemnon as expressed in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (205–17) or the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* of Euripides (1255–75).

The 1671 version[55] was adapted in 1675 into English as *Psyche* by Thomas Shadwell,[56] who had already reworked two of Molière's comedies for the English stage (*The Sullen Lovers* from *Les Fâcheux* (1668), *The Miser* from *L'Avare* (1672)). Shadwell was later (1688) the successor of John Dryden as Poet Laureate and was soon to be attacked by the latter for dullness in *MackFlecknoe* (1676, published 1682). His *Psyche* was done for the London actor-manager Thomas Betterton of the Duke of York's Theatre, who had visited Paris and was keen to imitate French theatrical successes in a court and society that looked to France for cultural prestige and fashion.[57] Shadwell's version was set by the composer Matthew Locke as what is known as 'semi-opera', a mixture of speech and song, in some ways the beginnings of opera in English, though William Davenant also has some claim to this with the earlier *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656, revised and expanded version 1661).[58] In 1674, Betterton had produced a version of *The Tempest*, with music by Locke and others, but the classicizing plot of *Psyche* clearly looks to French influence and to Molière in particular[59] rather than the already rich tradition of performing Shakespeare with song and dance accompaniment.[60]

Locke's designation of the piece as 'the English opera' on the title page of his score (1675) is an explicit challenge to the more openly French operas being produced by the rival opera company the King's Men, such as Louis Drabu's *Ariane* (1674). Shadwell's libretto is dedicated to Charles II's illegitimate son James Scott, duke of Monmouth, seen as the Protestant rival for the succession to the king's brother James, duke of York, who had emerged as a Roman Catholic in 1673; Monmouth was well known (like Louis XIV) for his interest and skill in dancing in court pieces.[61]

Once again modifications of the original (in this case the French version of 1671; there is little sign of a return to Apuleius) are instructive. This version introduces groups of soldiers, both as Psyche's rejected lovers and

warlike defenders and as the supporters of her two evil sisters: we might compare the rival armies of Cordelia and her sisters in *King Lear*, a play similarly including three sisters, one good, two bad (Shakespeare's work had already been deployed in a version of the Psyche story by Heywood in *Love's Mistress* of 1634).[62] This military presence also perhaps reflects the fact that England was still in war mode; the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–4), in which England had supported Louis XIV against the Netherlands, had not long finished, and Shadwell's preface makes it clear that most of his libretto was written during that period.[63] Shadwell's version also gives a much increased role to priests, who are shown in a negative light, no doubt reflecting the author's desire to stress his anti-Catholicism (he had earlier been suspected of Catholic sympathies),[64] consistent with the work's dedication to the Protestant champion Monmouth (see above).

Unusually, in Shadwell's text Cupid gets to meet Psyche's wicked sisters, who never encounter him in any of the previous versions; this gives a firmer basis for their jealousy, the kind of change Shadwell alludes to in his preface when he claims that he had made the plot more like a proper play. The sisters themselves are worse than usual, perhaps (as already noted) under the influence of Goneril and Regan in *King Lear*, and are consequently sent to the Underworld by Cupid for eternal punishment rather than being deceived into suicide. An interesting touch is the introduction of a desert scene in Act 1, with two pairs of despairing lovers who kill themselves, presumably a contrast with Psyche, who shows resolution in her desperate prospect of marriage with a serpent. We also find a particularly positive presentation of Proserpina and Pluto, monarchs of the Underworld, who behave graciously to Psyche, no doubt a compliment to the English king and queen. Like its French counterparts, this is a distinctly courtly piece.

Shadwell also follows the lead of Molière (and as we have already noted, of Apuleius himself) in bringing in elements from other classical genres. In Act 2 one of Psyche's rival lovers (Polynices, borrowing a name from the son of Oedipus[65]) comments on her father's acquiescence in the prophecy of Apollo that Psyche must marry a monster:

> Thus the great Agamemnon was betray'd,
> And Iphigenia thus a Victim made:
> Such horrid ills Religion can persuade.

The last line plainly translates a famous verse of Lucretius, also referring to Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia (1.101): *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*; here the contemporary English popularity of Lucretius[66] is added to the French interest in the sacrifice of Iphigenia (see above). Similarly, the presentation of the Underworld in Act 5 owes much to Vergil, *Aeneid* 6, also a source for Apuleius (but here recalled in different ways). When Psyche arrives there, she asks for information from her now deceased former lovers, whom she encounters, just as Aeneas repeatedly questions the Sibyl about the world below:

> *Psyche*
> Stay, Princes! and declare where, and what it is,
> This everlasting place of Bliss?
> *Nicander*
> In cool sweet Shades, and in immortal Groves,
> By Chrystal Rivulets, and eternal Springs;
> Where the most beauteous Queens and greatest Kings,
> Do celebrate their everlasting Loves.
> *Polynices*
> In ever peaceful, fresh, and fragrant Bowers,
> Adorn'd with never fading Fruits and Flowers;
> Where perfum'd Winds refresh their heat,
> And where immortal Quires their Loves repeat.
> There your great Father we have seen,
> Where he afresh enjoys his beauteous Queen.

The shades and groves of Bliss look to Vergil's Elysium with its *locos laetos et amoena uirecta/fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas* ('the joyous places and pleasing green spaces of the fortunate groves, and the happy homes' (*Aeneid* 6.638–9)). The reuniting of Psyche's dead royal parents recalls Vergil's reunion of Dido and Sychaeus (*Aeneid* 6.474–4), but might also evoke the fairly recent reunion in death of Henrietta Maria (d. 1669) with her long-dead husband Charles I, a potential compliment to their son Charles II. Shadwell's rapidly confected piece seems not to have been a great success, even if it did immediately engender the very loose and superficial parody *Psyche Debauch'd* By Thomas Duffet (1675),[67] but it is certainly of interest for historians both of English theatre and of Apuleian reception.

The three works outlined here represent an intense phase in the theatrical reception of the tale of Cupid and Psyche in France and England in the

1670s; three adaptations within seven years is a remarkable hit rate, even if all are closely textually related to each other. These three texts confirm the key importance in the story's reception history of La Fontaine's 1669 retelling as a stimulus for further versions in the Paris of Louis XIV and its imitators in London and offer interesting perspectives on the different influences of literary/musical forms and sociopolitical circumstances on the resulting versions, as well as playing a significant role in the development of early opera on either side of the English Channel. All operate at the highest social level, either being written for a royal court or trying to attract its approbation. In the next section we will see a series of non-performative receptions aimed at a more modest readership.[68]

4. La Fontaine's Legacy—the *Querelle* and 'Beauty and the Beast'

La Fontaine's version of Cupid and Psyche played a minor role in the most celebrated European literary dispute of the late seventeenth century, the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, in which the opposing sides argued about the relative value of classical and modern literature.[69] This quarrel in its French phase is generally thought to have begun with Charles Perrault's poem 'Le Siècle de Louis le Grand' (1687). Its claims that the ancient world was less morally enlightened than the modern one ('La docte Antiquité dans toute sa durée | À l'égal de nos jours ne fut point éclairée' ('learned antiquity in all its long duration | was never enlightened as our days are')) were immediately countered by La Fontaine in his verse 'Épître à Huet' (1687), addressed to a learned classical bishop and theorist on the novel genre[70] and making the opposing case for the superiority of ancient poets over their modern counterparts. Appearing a few years later, *LAPC* itself with its strongly classical theme understandably became a point of contention between the two; indeed, it is a key presence in the preface to Perrault's *Contes* of 1694, the first collection of French fairy tales proper in the decade where the form really emerged,[71] drawing on Italian sources such as Basile[72] to present the first prominent versions of stories such as Cinderella ('Cendrillon'). Here Perrault attacks La Fontaine for his amoral classicism, claiming that his own tales have greater moral content than

LAPC, clearly still popular after a quarter-century, or the just-published version (also 1694) of the story of the Matron of Ephesus from Petronius in the last book of La Fontaine's *Fables* (12.26). He suggested in particular that the apparent allegory of Love and the Soul in the tale of Cupid and Psyche as retold by La Fontaine is impenetrable, and that this story, like other ancient tales, was composed for entertainment rather than edification:[73]

> Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est que cette Fable de même que la plupart de celles qui nous restent des Anciens n'ont été faites que pour plaire sans égard aux bonnes moeurs qu'il négligeaient beaucoup.
>
> All one can say, is that this Fable [Cupid and Psyche], like most of those by the Ancients that remain to us, were made merely to entertain without consideration for good character, which they neglected considerably. [our translation]

Perrault's views generally prevailed, and the modern side is generally judged to have won the *Querelle* by the end of the reign of Louis XIV (1715).

The role of Perrault as the first major French author of fairy tales also points to another consequence of La Fontaine's reception of C&P.[74] In the 1690s, *LAPC*, despite Perrault's disapproval, becomes the specific starting point for the earliest form of the fairy tale of Beauty and the Beast in the story 'Serpentin vert' ('Green Serpent') (1697). This story is found in the four-volume collection *Les Contes des fées* (1697), whose author, Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Contesse d'Aulnoy (1650/1–1705), had had something of a mixed life.[75] After an early and unhappy marriage to a much older husband whom she supposedly helped her mother accuse of treason, she spent some years in exilic travel in England and elsewhere. Only in middle age was she able to re-establish herself in Paris, where in the 1690s she ran a successful literary salon and produced a series of historical novels and travel books that were widely read. *Les Contes de Fées* was dedicated to Madame, Elizabeth Charlotte of Bavaria, the second wife of Monsieur, Louis XIV's brother, who had danced in Benserade's *Psyché* in his youth forty years before (see above), and it is clearly intended for a family audience. In the case of 'Serpentin vert', we thus have a tale by a woman author in which the protagonist is a woman dedicated to one of the leading women of the time. This is perhaps the beginning of a key element of the reception of C&P in the period covered by this book, its consistent appeal to the burgeoning number of female writers[76] as one of

the few major narratives from the ancient world in which a woman took the leading role.

Like its Apuleian original, this is a tale embedded as told by a character in a larger narrative, in this case the picaresque travel story ‘Don Fernand de Tolède’, in which the eponymous hero travels from Spain across the Mediterranean.[77] ‘Serpentin vert’ tells the story of the princess Laidronette, who is condemned by the curse of a malevolent fairy, Magotine, to be the ugliest woman in the world and lives secluded in a tower. Going outside one day, she meets the Green Serpent (a dragon rather than a snake), and flees from him, terrified, ending up in the sea, from which he rescues her. When she regains consciousness, she finds herself the cherished guest of an unknown king in an unknown kingdom; at night she converses with the king, who is invisible to her and with whom in time she falls in love, and the two are married. The king has told her that he has been enchanted for seven years (but not that he is in fact the Green Serpent), and that she must wait for that period before she can see what he looks like. She, however, is convinced by her family to satisfy her curiosity about his identity before then; her discovery and separation from him are followed by Magotine’s invasion and conquest of the kingdom. Laidronette becomes the servant of Magotine, who sets her a series of difficult tasks, in which she is assisted by a good fairy; the Green Serpent is despatched to the Underworld. In the course of one of her labours Laidronette loses her ugliness after drinking the waters of Discretion, and is sent by the good fairy for three years to an idyllic mountain grove. After the three years, Laidronette goes back to serve Magotine and is instructed to go to the Underworld and fetch for her the water of life. In the Underworld, with the aid of the good fairy who gives her Cupid for assistance, she is reunited with her husband, now in his original human form. Cupid brings the couple back to earth, Magotine repents and releases them, and gives them the king’s former kingdom.

Though D’Aulnoy owes something to Italian popular tales,[78] it is at once evident that C&P is a key model here:[79] the fairy’s curse parallels Venus’ malevolence and the consequent prophecy, while the heroine’s rescue from expected death and her reception in a luxurious palace, her husband’s hidden identity and her catastrophic family-urged curiosity, her enslavement to a malevolent and powerful mistress, and her series of tasks, including a journey to the Underworld that is accomplished by divine help, all reappear from the original in mutated but recognizable form; even the serpent form

of the king may pick up the supposed serpentine form of Cupid in the oracle in Apuleius, not in *LAPC* and here suggesting that D'Aulnoy might have used the original as well. But there are also some interesting variations. The heroine's initial encounter with the hero is not with an expected monster who turns out to be Cupid but with an actual monster who in the end will turn out to be a prince, the rock where Psyche is exposed to mortal danger becomes the rock that is the scene of her rescue from the sea, and Cupid is not her lover but a divine helper in her successful quest to be reunited with her husband. Most importantly, having already drunk the waters of Discretion, Laidronette does not follow the example of Psyche in tampering with the precious item she is carrying back from Proserpina in the Underworld (in her case, the essence of long life), but prudently resists and does not require the last-minute rescue of the original. The heroine, then, has learned her lesson: here (as in other details such as the repentance of the malevolent Magotine) D'Aulnoy, supporter of the Moderns, has restored to her version of the Psyche story the moralizing that Perrault missed in the version of La Fontaine.[80]

As with the stage adaptations of the 1670s discussed above, it is clear that D'Aulnoy is using La Fontaine's version of Apuleius' story:[81] her inclusion of a long residence by her heroine in the mountain grove and her magic metamorphosis from ugliness to beauty confirm this (see LF 12 and 13 in the analysis of La Fontaine above). The link is also explicitly made by D'Aulnoy herself in sophisticated allusions to her model. One of the *pagodes* (pagodas, an orientalizing touch), the servants who look after Laidronette in the magic palace, brings her a story to entertain her:

> Comme tous les pagodes cherchaient avec empressement à divertir leur nouvelle reine, il y en eut un qui lui apporta l'histoire de Psyché qu'un auteur des plus à la mode venait de mettre en beau langage. Elle y trouva beaucoup de choses qui avaient du rapport à son aventure.[82]
>
> Since all the pagodas were eagerly seeking to entertain their new queen, there was one of them that brought her the story of Psyche, which one of the most fashionable authors had just put into fine language. There she found many things that related to her own adventure.

The fashionable author is clearly La Fontaine, as commentators have noted, and the recent story is plainly *LAPC*, though it had been published a generation earlier.[83] As has been noted, this is a brilliantly witty allusion for the knowing reader:[84] Laidronette naturally finds many links between her own story and that of Psyche, since the latter is the literary source for the former. And she is not the only character in the tale who reads *LAPC*: both

her mysterious royal husband and her royal mother when she comes to visit recall the story. Her husband uses it to warn her not to repeat Psyche's error:

> 'Le livre que vous lisez' ajouta-t-il, 'vous peut faire connaitre dans quels malheurs Psyche tomba. Hé, de grâce! Profitez-en pour les éviter.'[85]
>
> 'The book you are reading', he added, 'can inform you into what misfortunes Psyche fell. Please, profit from it so as to avoid them.'

Her mother, on the other hand, cites Psyche as the opposite of her daughter's situation:

> 'L'on dit à Psyché qu'elle avait un monstre pour époux, et elle trouva que c'était l'Amour; vous êtes entêtée que L'Amour est le vôtre, et assurément c'est un monstre; tout au moins mettez votre esprit en repos, éclaircissez-vous sur une chose si aisée.'[86]
>
> 'They told Psyche that she had a monster for a husband, and she discovered it was Cupid; you are obstinately sure that yours is Cupid, and surely it is a monster; at least put your mind to rest, enlighten yourself on such a simple matter.'

Laidronette herself reads and rereads the story looking for guidance,[87] but repeats Psyche's error of curiosity and disastrous revelation of her husband's identity:

> Ah! curiosité fatale dont mille exemples ne peuvent nous corriger, que tu vas coûter cher à cette malheureuse princesse! Elle aurait eu bien du regret de ne pas imiter sa devancière Psyché, de sorte qu'elle cacha une lampe comme elle et s'en servit pour regarder ce roi invisible, si cher à son cœur. Mais quel cri épouvantable ne fit-elle pas, lorsqu'au lieu du tendre Amour blond, blanc, jeune et tout aimable, elle vit l'affreux Serpentin vert aux longs crins hérissés ![88]
>
> Ah, fatal curiosity of which a thousand examples cannot serve to correct us, how dearly will you cost this unfortunate princess! She would have much regretted not imitating her predecessor Psyche, with the result that, like her, she hid a lamp and used it to look at this invisible king, so dear to her heart. But what a fearful cry she let out, when, instead of tender, blond, white-skinned Cupid, young and altogether lovely, she saw the foul green Serpent with his long bristly animal hair.

Here (as foreshadowed by Laidronette's mother) we have a brilliant reversal of the original: the handsome Cupid revealed by Psyche's lamp becomes the foul monster under the light of Laidronette's. The attempted murder of the original is cut out in D'Aulnoy's more genteel world of children's stories, along with any idea that Laidronette might be pregnant. When Laidronette follows the model of Psyche in yielding to temptation, the result is catastrophic; when she resists, she reaps the rewards of virtue in her happy ending. This moral to D'Aulnoy's version of the story is brought out explicitly close to the end, in the moralizing verses that provide a summary

of Laidronette's wrong-headed initial following of Psyche, which she eventually overcame by her newly acquired discretion:

> L'exemple de Psyché ne peut la rendre sage,
> Hélas! De leurs malheurs passés,
> La plupart des mortels, curieux, insensés,
> N'en fait pas un meilleur usage.[89]
> Psyche's example cannot make her wise:
> Alas! Of their past sufferings
> Most mortals, curious, insane,
> Make no better use.

D'Aulnoy's tale of an ugly hero transformed into a handsome prince through the love of a princess forms the basis for Madame de Villeneuve's 'La Belle et la Bête' (1740). This is the first example of a story incorporating elements directly from the Apuleian narrative (once again in La Fontaine's version) that is actually entitled 'Beauty and the Beast', though it clearly derives this theme from D'Aulnoy's version of C&P. Like 'Serpentin vert' and indeed *LAPC*, this tale was presented as an embedded story in a longer narrative, the extensive and complex 1740 novel *La Jeune Americaine ou les contes marins* by Gabrielle-Suzanne Barbot Gallon de Villeneuve (1695–1755). Like D'Aulnoy, de Villeneuve was aristocratic and married young and unhappily to an older man, but escaped, by widowhood in her twenties; she then turned to literary work, living happily with the playwright Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon and producing a series of novels in the 1740s and 1750s.[90] 'La Belle et la Bete' is a long, rambling narrative of over one hundred pages in the standard modern edition,[91] with the following basic outline. A merchant on his travels picks a rose from a garden that belongs to the Beast, who demands one of his daughters in return for the flower. The merchant's daughter Beauty goes to the Beast's castle, where she is luxuriously treated and has visions of a handsome prince; she converses with the Beast and their relationship grows. The Beast allows her to return home for a visit; Beauty promises to come back to him, but only does so when she has visions of the Beast dying. She comes back, professes her love for the Beast, and discovers that he is really the handsome prince of her dreams, whom she has released from enchantment by her love; she is also revealed to be a princess. She and the prince are married and live happily ever after.

This plot plainly owes much to D'Aulnoy, and is much closer to 'Serpentin vert' than to C&P in basic shape, but there is some evidence that Villeneuve made independent use of La Fontaine's *LAPC* for some details, looking back to the source she shares with D'Aulnoy. The Beast's palace is enormous and sumptuous, with beautiful gardens and a long canal lined with orange and myrtle trees. This clearly evokes the Versailles that forms the backdrop for La Fontaine, where the autumn orange trees in the Orangerie (presumably put outside along the canal in the summer then as now) are specifically praised (cf. *LAPC* 128), and the general way in which Cupid's palace in *LAPC* resembles the Versailles where it is narrated (see above); Beauty's royal mother spends time incognito as a shepherdess, just as the princess Psyché did in la Fontaine, an episode added by him to Apuleius (cf. *LAPC* 193–212). Villeneuve also makes use of the more satirical/realistic side of Apuleius' story, exploited by La Fontaine: Beauty's sisters are envious of her, like Psyche's sisters in La Fontaine (cf. *LAPC* 166) and Apuleius but unlike in D'Aulnoy, and initially the Beast/prince's mother (a figure not in D'Aulnoy) follows Apuleius'/La Fontaine's Venus in thinking the heroine unworthy to marry her son (cf. *LAPC* 214). This is a relatively small harvest, but these details and the overall form of the plot allow us to state that C&P stands at the origin of the fairy-tale tradition of Beauty and the Beast.

Villeneuve's version of Beauty and the Beast was rapidly superseded by Madame Leprince de Beaumont's homonymous 'La Belle et la Bête' (1757), a much shorter account that is more clearly and elegantly told, aimed at child readers by a non-aristocratic writer.[92] This was the version used by Jean Cocteau as the basis of his 1946 film *La Belle et la Bête*, and which has become the canonical one, regularly set for study in French secondary schools.[93] Beaumont's story is in effect an abbreviation with variations of Villeneuve's, and, though it has many parallels with C&P, it shows no signs of independent use of La Fontaine or Apuleius. In the next generation, Charles-Albert Demoustier's version of the C&P story in several prosimetric epistles notionally addressed to a young woman in his *Lettres à Èmilie sur la mythologie* of 1786 shows little use of *LACP*, but is rather one of many direct adaptations in that work of episodes in classical literature for a non-Latin reading audience, with a number of modifications of and additions to the Apuleian original; once again the female protagonist and romantic subject matter make the story suitable for a female reader (and

author: Mary Tighe claimed Demoustier as one of her sources, see Chapter 4).[94] More interesting in this period is the Russian adaptation of La Fontaine's version for the Francophile world of Catherine the Great in the mock-epic poem *Dushenka* (1783) by Ippolit Fyodorovich Bogdanovich (1744–1803), in which Psyche becomes a modern girl of good family whose story is narrated with wit, irony, and some elements from the Russian folk-tale tradition.[95]

La Fontaine's version also had palpable influence on French art in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the set of panels depicting the Cupid and Psyche story painted by Charles-Joseph Natoire for the aristocratic Hôtel de Soubise in Paris in 1737–9 drew on *LAPC*'s added episode of Psyche as shepherdess,[96] while *LAPC* and earlier illustrations of it were a key inspiration for the splendid set of Empire grisaille wallpapers designed for the atelier Dufour in Paris *c*.1815 and still to be seen *in situ* in the former palace of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin at Bad Doberan close to the Baltic near Rostock in northern Germany, which have been the subject of recent study and analysis.[97] Fig. 1 is an illustration of the lovely Dufour version of La Fontaine's scene of the reconciliation of Psyche and Venus, a major addition in *LAPC* to the Apuleian story.[98]

Fig. 1 Atelier Dufour, Wallpaper no. 11 = *Reconciliation of Venus and Psyche*. Copyright: Tapetenbilder aus dem Ovalen Saal des Großherzoglichen Palais in Bad Doberan, Edeltraud Altrichter, ITMZ Universität Rostock.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has charted the move of C&P from Italy to France and to cultural prominence at the court of Louis XIV, and from the elite context of court opera and ballet to the more bourgeois and child-centred form of the fairy tale. La Fontaine's extensive version of 1669 has been seen to be the key text, providing not only the basis of settings for music and dance but also the trigger for literary debate around the emerging fairy tale in the context of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* of the last decades of

the seventeenth century. One interesting feature after La Fontaine is the emergence for the first time of versions of the tale by female writers, appropriately enough for one of the few major classical narratives where a female character plays the prime role; this reflects the emerging prominence of women writers at the time (we will see analogous developments in the Romantic period—see Chapter 4) and in some cases their personal and family circumstances.[99] The multiplicity and diversity of the versions of C&P discussed here emphasize its status as a flexible and durable story that can be adapted to many forms, one of the main explanations of its popularity over the extended period covered by this volume.[100]

Apuleius in European Literature: Cupid and Psyche since 1650. Stephen Harrison and Regine May, Oxford University Press. © Stephen Harrison and Regine May 2024. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192862983.003.0002

[1] See, e.g., Tapié (1960) and Fumaroli (2001: esp. 52–4). For a rapid survey of the literary reception of Apuleius in France in the period 1518–1843, see Scobie (1977).

[2] For the date (usually recorded as 1518), see Pédeflous (2007); on this and other sixteenth-century French translations, see Heyerick (2005).

[3] See Gély (2006: 506–12) for a list and in general for the reception of the Psyche story in France until La Fontaine (Le Maître 1939 takes it up to 1890), along with the discussion of the various translations by Gaisser (2008); see also the useful essays in Barbafieri and Rauseo (2004) on the various French artistic receptions of Psyche in the period 1650–1750, covering the works discussed in this chapter from various angles but not as adaptations of the original.

[4] Later attacked by Boileau for over-productive mediocrity in 'Le Chapelain décoiffé' (1665).

[5] e.g. in its similar title and the analogous presence of inserted songs in verse.

[6] For samples of de la Serre's work, see Gély (2006: 101–2, 104), and, for the Italian allegorizing tradition, see Gaisser (2008: 175–218).

[7] Louis founded Europe's first official academy of dance (L'Académie Royale de Danse) in 1661, and himself danced a great number of roles in court ballets until his early thirties—see Powell (2000: 149–51, 366, 374, 410) and Prest (2001).

[8] Lully's main musical contribution seems to have been the 'concert italien' towards the end of the second part, performed by Italian singers in Italian lyrics, which he may also have written (Powell 2000: 276). Lully came to France in 1646, danced in company with the young king before being appointed his court composer in 1653, and became a French citizen in 1661. For a convenient survey of the French music of the period and Lully's status, see Bennett and Cowart (2015).

[9] For his career, see Gilin (1940).

[10] Music by Jean Baptiste Boësset. For the libretto see https://operabaroque.fr/LULLY_PSYCHE_56.htm (accessed 12 December 2018); for a brief treatment, see Courtès (2004).

[11] For a potential political interpretation of this latter casting, see Bloechl (2018: 178).

[12] For example, the figures found in the ballet's most substantial scene (part 1, entry 11) are the classical lover-pairs of Jason and Medea and Odysseus and Circe together with Alcina and Roger (Ruggiero) from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1532) and Armida and Reynaud (Rinaldo) from Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberate* (1581).

[13] The libretto is prefaced by Giovanni Battista Fusconi as if its author, but is in fact by Pietro Michele and Giovanni Francesco Loredano; for this and the general importance of the Accademia for musical drama in the period, see Rosand (2007: 37–40). Other members of the Accademia included Giacomo Badoaro and Giovanni Francesco Busenello, librettists, respectively, of Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1639–40) and *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1643).

[14] For the libretto (using a five-act structure and Aristotelian unities), see https://www.loc.gov/resource/musschatz.19867.0/?sp=8 and, for a recent treatment, see Ragno (2020), who shows how it introduces new characters and alludes to a range of classical genres outside the novel (rather like the opera libretti discussed in Section 3).

[15] For his career and output, see Glover (1978).

[16] See Silin (1940: 196–7, 301). For the opera's plot (based on Ovid and Seneca), see Clinkscale (1992).

[17] See Huet (1670: 89) 'Psyché, que personne n'ignore'. On Huet's work, see Shelford (2007: 108–12). La Fontaine and Huet probably knew each other already and were certainly later allies on the same (ancient) side in the battle of ancients and moderns—see Section 4.

[18] Canepa (1997: 11) notes the surge of interest in fairy tales in France in the period 1690–1703, surely due to La Fontaine.

[19] Parts of this section draw on Harrison (2018b). For further work on La Fontaine's version, seeJeanneret (1982), Giraud (19994) Gély (1996), Polizzi (1997), Génetiot (1999), Roth (2002), and Dickhaut (2004).

[20] Clarac (1958); this edition of *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* and its notes are cited here with the abbreviation *LAPC* and page number. All translations are our own.

[21] On the functions of the frame narrative, see Gross (1969).

[22] See further Keller (1996); for the links with Marino, see Graziani Giacobbi (1984).

[23] Attempts to identify these characters precisely with real people (e.g. La Fontaine, Molière, Racine, and Boileau) have been largely unsuccessful (*LAPC* 827). Some at least of their names clearly play on their classical etymologies: Poliphile (Greek 'much-loving') is clearly an appropriate name for the narrator of this great love story and recalls Poliphilo, the main character of the extraordinary Italian pastoral romance *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), which La Fontaine clearly knew (*LAPC* 79), and which itself was already influenced by Apuleius (see Carver 2007: 183–235); for its influence on *LAPC*, see Polizzi (1997). Likewise, Acante (Greek and Latin for 'acanthus') fittingly has the name of a pastoral plant in this partly pastoral narrative (cf. Vergil, *Ecl*. 3.45, 4.20), Ariste (Greek 'excellent') suits a character who is 'sérieux' (*LAPC* 128) and favours the social élite (see further below), and Gelaste (Greek 'ridiculous) one who is 'fort gai' (*LAPC* 12.; see further below).

[24] Especially the story of Philemon and Baucis from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*Fables* 12.25) and that of the Widow of Ephesus from Petronius' *Satyrica* (*Fables* 12.26).

[25] These are usefully listed by Gély (2006: 516–18; see also 506–14); see also Heyerick (2005) for the French translations of the sixteenth century, and Heidmann (2011) for possible use of Italian work. For the *Ballet de Psyché* of Benserade (1656) and the version by Puget de la Serre (1624), see above, for further versions, see Gély (1996), and for the reception of the Psyche story in France in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Barbafieri and Rauseo (2004); for the French reception as a whole, see Gély (2006).

[26] Such narratological playfulness is a key feature of the Apuleian original—see especially Winkler (1985).

[27] The numbers of Apuleian pages are drawn from an English translation (Kenney 1998), rather than a Latin text, since no modern Latin text has a page size approximating to that of *LAPC*. Kenney and *LAPC* both use between 500 and 550 words per page and therefore provide an appropriate pair for comparison.

[28] See Harrison (2003).

[29] For further analysis of the narrative frame from the perspective of its vernacular sources, see Keller (1996).

[30] The main apartments and courtyard and central canal at Versailles were certainly in place by 1668, as the bird's-eye view by Pierre Patel from that year makes clear (it is reproduced in Lemoine 1990: 14). There may also be a witty link with the Salon de Vénus in the king's State Apartments; this was not constructed until after 1678 (Lemoine 1990: 36), but Louis de Vau's design for a suite of rooms there based on the seven planetary deities including Venus must have been available by his death in 1670 and may have already been known to La Fontaine in 1668–9.

[31] See especially Tatum (1969).

[32] For this debate, see the analysis by Goldhill (1995, 82–92).

[33] See Sandy (1996) and Riquier (2019).

[34] The other two, Chariton's *Callirhoe* and Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaka*, were not published in any form until the eighteenth century.

[35] See again Sandy (1996) and Riquier (2019).

[36] Fouquet ref. to SJH piece.

[37] For the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and Apuleius, see Carver (2007: 183–235).

[38] To be found in Clarac (1958: 421–53).

[39] Clarac (1958: 79).

[40] See n. 14. For the influence of *L'Astrée* on *LAPC*, see the dated but full account in Fischer (1913) and the more recent Gély (1996); for the influence of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, see Polizzi (1997).

[41] Parts of this section draw on Harrison (2021). Various aspects of the French stage versions treated in this section are the subject of several essays in Barbafieri and Rauseo (2004) (Barbafieri 2004, Dufour-Maître 2004, Mahé 2004, de Cagny 2004, and Canova-Gree 2004); unlike them, this treatment focuses on the libretti and their detailed adaptation of the Apuleian original.

[42] See Lefkowitz (1979: 47).

[43] Modern recordings are available of Lully's 1678 version (see http://www.musicweb-international.com/classrev/2008/Oct08/Lully_Psyche_7773672.htm) and of Locke's opera (see https://www.harmoniamundi.com/:#!/albums/2782). The plot summaries of these two works are partly drawn from those accompanying these recordings, while that of the 1671 version adapts that conveniently available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psych%C3%A9_(play).

[44] Modern editions of the libretto are to be found in the works of Molière (see, e.g., Molière 1979, with some annotation); for literary commentary, see Maskell (1996–7) and Powell (2000: 277) and for the original context of performance, Powell (2000: 413–14). For the first edition of 1671, see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70160j.

[45] The libretto was published in Shadwell (1675); for an online modern transcription, see http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A59443.0001.001/1:2?rgn=div1;view=fulltext.

[46] See, further, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psych%C3%A9_(Lully)#.

[47] Accomplished in only three weeks according to a contemporary source: see Powell (2000).

[48] See Powell (2000) for these and other performance details.

[49] See, e.g., Philippo (2013).

[50] See n. 37.

[51] For this motif in C&P, see May (2006: 212–48).

[52] For these forms of stage performance in this period, see Powell (2000) Sadler (2007), and Bloechl (2018).

[53] For the details, see Zimmerman et al. (1998, 2004).

[54] For a treatment of the latter, see Harrison (2021) and for the former see p. 23 above.

[55] It was revived in Paris in 1684 at the recently founded Comédie-Française with new music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier, which has sadly not survived: see Hitchcock (1971: 274).

[56] For studies, see Lefkowitz (1979) and Degott (2008).

[57] See, e.g., Hayward (2015).

[58] For this piece and even earlier candidates, see Pinnock and Wood (2008).

[59] See, further, Lefkowitz (1979) and Degott (2008).

[60] For the latter, see, e.g., Brissenden 1981.

[61] See Lefkowitz (1979).

[62] See n. 56.

[63] It claims that most of it was finished sixteen months before—that is, some time in 1674.

[64] But later wrote anti-Catholic satire; for both, see Bennett (2004).

[65] His rival, Nicander, seems to be named after the general of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (Livy 35.12, 29).

[66] See, e.g., Norbrook et al. (2015).

[67] For an edition from 1678, see http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=V59678.

[68] It is here worth mentioning that the French operas on the story of Psyche resulted in a series of small chamber adaptations in the form of the *cantate française* (usually three arias with accompaniment) over the next half-century: see, further, Ahrendt (2004).

[69] For its earlier beginnings in Italy, see Fumaroli (2001); for its later British form, see Levine (1991); for a good recent summary of its impact in France, see Norman (2017), summarizing the fuller Norman (2011); and, for a useful anthology of texts, see Lecoq (2001).

[70] For the career of Pierre-Daniel Huet (which included, as noted above, writing the first modern treatise on the Greek and Roman novel), see Shelford (2007).

[71] See Jasmin (2008: 17).

[72] See Jasmin (2008: 15–16) and Chapter 1 on earlier Italian fairy tales and their links with C&P.

[73] Cited from Collinet (1981: 51).

[74] For the link between *LAPC* and French fairy tales, see also Defrance (2004).

[75] On her life and work, see Warner (1995: 284–90), Defrance (1998), Thirard (1998), and Jasmin (2008: 1–73).

[76] See Bostic (2010).

[77] See Thirard (2017).

[78] Cf. Barchilon (2009: 1, n. 1).

[79] For some explorations, see Birberick (2002), Ballestra-Puech(2011), and Thirard (2012); for D'Aulnoy's use of the Psyche story in other tales, see Jasmin (2004: 70–7).

[80] For D'Aulnoy's engagement with the *Querelle* on the modern side, see DeFrance (1998: 211–18).

[81] See, e.g., Birberick (2002).

[82] Jasmin (2008: 649) (the French text is from this edition; translations are our own).

[83] e.g. Jasmin (2008: 649) and Thirard (2012: 16).

[84] Thirard (2012: 16).

[85] Jasmin (2008: 648).

[86] Jasmin (2008: 650).

[87] Jasmin (2008: 649).

[88] Jasmin (2008: 650).

[89] Jasmin (2008: 668).

[90] For her career, see Swiderski (1997).

[91] Blancardi (2008). A convenient English translation can be found in Zipes (2011).

[92] She was a provincial convent girl worked as a singing teacher and governess and (again) had a complex marital history: for her career, see Chiron and Seth (2013) and von Kulessa (2018).

[93] See school editions such as Leprince de Beaumont (2017), which come with analyses and questions for pupils. The standard edition is (again) Blancardi (2008), and a convenient English translation can be found (again) in Zipes (2011). For a recent study of this text and C&P, see James (2020).

[94] See Reitz (2020: 64).

[95] See Serman (1992: 82–3).

[96] See Simard (2020).

[97] See Winkler-Horaček and Reitz (2008) and especially Reitz (2020).

[98] Our thanks to our friend and colleague Christaine Reitz for allowing us to reprint this image, and for organizing a visit to Bad Doberan: for reproductions of the wallpapers there, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:The_Story_of_Psyche_(Dufour,_Bad_Doberan_copy) .

[99] Brilliantly explored by Warner (1995).

[100] Worth mention here is Voltaire's poem *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (see Voltaire 1762), a burlesque treatment of the story of Joan of Arc, written *c*.1730 and first published *c*.1755, in which the fictional editor of the text is named Apuleius Risorius and Cupid and Psyche appear in the text in an image describing the love of Charles VII of France and his mistress Agnes (and Joan is a female protagonist like Psyche).

3

Cupid and Psyche in Germany, 1750–1850

1. Introduction

Scholarly and literary adaptations of Cupid and Psyche defined the tale's German reception by professional classicists and their circles, which often included poets with classical interests: classical philology, in particular, focused on C&P, its putative relationship to Greek texts, and (at the turn of the nineteenth century) Platonic philosophy. The influence of classicism also gave rise to widespread interest in C&P in art and literature. Furthermore, there was also a specifically German reaction to the availability of French fairy tales with their own reception of C&P. This chapter will look at both sentimental and romantic literary reactions to C&P and at the specific German fairy tales based on it.

While the French fairy tales are ostentatiously literary creations (e.g. Perrault and D'Aulnoy, see Chapter 2), the German tales are rather different; although they appear deliberately naive, unresearched, and folkloristic, this is not always the case, and some of them are ultimately influenced by Apuleius, too. The French versions are complicated, with many side plots, while the German fairy-tale collectors preferred simpler stories that were decidedly oral in appearance and execution. The influential fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm are, however, as we shall see, often enough based on these French tales and on Italian/Neapolitan stories, both of which were consumed by the Grimms' informants and by the Brothers themselves in written form. German reception of C&P both moved into a different direction from its French equivalent, while also being heavily influenced by it.

In addition, the early Romantic literary approach to fairy tales in itself fertilized and was counter-fertilized by the German fairy-tale tradition. Poets and novelists wrote fairy tales alongside their other literary output, and there were close literary and personal networks between many of the authors discussed in this chapter, leading to a fruitful interchange of ideas, no doubt contributing to the increased popularity of Psyche. Short lyric and long epic poems tend to show off their authors' learning, and the influence of C&P on the development of the German novel is substantial. German reception in this period shows a specific interest in the female character of Psyche and its female readership, but very little focus on Apuleius as an author. His creation Psyche developed a life of her own in Germany, apart from the *Metamorphoses*, as a figurehead of femininity, innocence, and the philosophy of nature and the soul.

2. From French Courts to German Bourgeoisie

Some continuity between French and German reception can be traced, although there was no centralized court comparable to Versailles, around which refined literary efforts based on Cupid and Psyche could agglomerate (as shown for France in Chapter 2). There is, however, some evidence for courtly reception similar to the French pageants it imitated—for example, in the Palatine Court in Heidelberg of 1682, where a *Festzug* ('pageant') titled *Heyrath zwischen Cupido und Psyche in einem beliebten Auff=Zug verschiedener Götter und Göttinnen/Helden und Tugenden/Schäfer und Nymphen*[1] ('Marriage between Cupid and Psyche in a favourite pageant of diverse gods and goddesses, heroes, virtues, shepherds and nymphs') emulates those in Versailles; the two courts shared close dynastic links.[2] The *Singspiel Die wunderschöne Psyche* from 1701 in Hamburg (possibly based on a 1687 first edition) by the opera librettist Christian Heinrich Postel (1658–1705), who also wrote the libretto for Bach's *St John's Passion*, was staged for Sophie Charlotte, queen of Prussia, in Hamburg and in later years for various other royal events.[3] The music was composed by Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739), a prominent and prolific composer of baroque opera in Germany. This continued popularity of adaptations of the story for wedding celebrations among the aristocracy noted before (see

Chapter 1 on Isabella d'Este) expands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the educated bourgeoisie.

At the same time, however, the unique novel *Psyche Cretica* (1685) by Johann Ludwig Prasch (1637–90) had already indicated an interest in the reception of C&P that anticipates several of the strands traceable in later German engagement with the text, even though his novel was written in Latin.[4] It has a notable Protestant slant, just like the contemporary Anglican epic *Psyche, or Love's Mystery* (1648, revised 1702) by Joseph Beaumont (1616–1699), who redrafted the story as an allegory of the Soul's salvation through Christ.[5]

Prasch shared this interest in Christian allegory. His novel received a German translation in 1705 by Christoph Eibelhuber, which clarifies the theological underpinning of Prasch's story in its subtitle: *Psyche Cretica oder geistlicher Roman von der menschlichen Seelen* ('Cretan Psyche or spiritual novel about the human soul'). The novel's first part follows Apuleius' story fairly closely up to the moment when Psyche, here a Cretan princess, breaks the taboo and Cupid flees from her. Then Psyche wanders through lonely forests, only nearly to fall victim to a young man called Cosmus, who repeatedly attacks and almost kills her. The young Athenian Theophrastus saves her, but Cosmus continues to try to get hold of Psyche, until he finally abducts her. Only the intervention of Cupid and Venus saves Psyche, and Cupid kills Cosmus with his arrow. The lovers are not reunited yet, as Psyche lives her life in solitude and gratitude to her saviour. Finally, Psyche finds a pair of wings on a Cretan beach, with which she flies to Heaven to be with Cupid. The Lutheran symbolism is fairly easily deciphered, as the human soul (Psyche) finds itself constantly under onslaught from worldly things (Cosmus, 'world' in Greek), and is helped temporarily by priests (Theophrastus, 'speaker for God', whose philosopher name suggests a deeper understanding of things and a connection with the divine), but permanently only by God himself (Cupid), with whom she is finally united at the moment of the body's death. Prasch's Cupid had revealed himself to Psyche as a god before their marriage, and Psyche's inability to follow his orders represents mortal men's inability to follow God's plan.[6] The novel contains much Protestant religious teaching and allegory, and the freer adaptation of Psyche's life after separation from Cupid is indicative of the kind of philosophical interpretations that follow in German reception (see below). This is an important difference from the

French fairy tales discussed in the previous chapter, which are emblematic, as Bottigheimer argues, of a form of *repuerescentia*, 'the spiritual discipline of an adult losing one's self in the contemplation of Jesus' infancy',[7] and the deliberate de-allegorization and de-mythologization of the story by La Fontaine (see Chapter 2).

3. Translations and Adaptations

The availability of Apuleius' C&P in German translation for average readers was patchy for a long time. Instead, hundreds of artistic images of Cupid and Psyche not necessarily linked to Apuleius' work popularized the couple as an exemplar of ideal lovers. There was such an explosion of literature with a specific focus on Psyche as a character rather than the Apuleian story in its entirety in the one hundred years between 1750 and 1850 that only some examples can be treated here.[8] For a long time, the only available German translation of the complete *Metamorphoses* was that of Johann Sieder (1538).[9] Cupid and Psyche on its own, however, was more popular, with several adaptations and translations of the tale before 1850: Ludwig Kosegarten (1789), Johann Jacob von Lincker (1804, in verse), Joseph Kehrein (1834, in eight-verse stanzas),[10] Christian Martin Winterling (1836), and Reinhold Jachmann (1843) all offered translations ranging from the loosely poetic to the scholarly.[11]

A boost for the reception of Apuleius in Germany were the two influential translations by August von Rode (1751–1837). Rode was a politician and administrator at the Anhalt-Dessau court, and the teacher of Graf Franz von Waldersee, an illegitimate son of Leopold III, Friedrich Franz, Fürst und Herzog von Anhalt-Dessau. His 1780 translation of C&P was well received and was followed in 1783 by a witty and entertaining translation of the whole novel dedicated to the Hofrath Le Roy, a fellow lover of Latin literature and history.[12] (See Chapter 4 for Thomas Taylor, who a short time later also translated first C&P separately and then the whole *Metamorphoses* into English.) Other translations by Rode included Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Vitruvius. His 1780 C&P translation was a deliberate attempt to separate the story from its uncouth environment, the rest of the novel, as Rode declares in 1780, in his *Vorrede* or 'preface'. The

translation is enhanced by Rode's comments, where he explains his choices of omission, which are often, but not always, directed by a desire to purge the text. For example, the German translation omits Apuleius' joke on Milesian Apollo speaking Latin instead of Greek (*Met.* 4.32), but Rode translates the omitted passage in his relevant note.[13] The few sexual scenes in C&P are softened, but Psyche's pregnancy is not omitted from the translation (as it would be later in some Victorian versions, see Chapter 5), although the annotations often give the Latin with a comment on its unsuitability or obscenity.

The 1783 preface to the translation of the novel as a whole is philological, discussing its presumed Greek origins and Apuleius' biography. The translation was extremely successful and received several reprints in quick succession.[14] It is still in print and perhaps the most important and influential German version of the story. Rode seems to have followed the Horatian idea that poetry should delight as well as instruct (*Ars poetica* 333), as he hopes in his preface that his translation will entertain his readers as well as help them to understand the paintings of Raphael in the Loggia of Psyche in Rome's Villa Farnesina, which were widely known in Germany via etchings—for example, those by Nicolas Dorigny (1658–1746) (see Fig. 2)[15] and even encourage further paintings on the topic.[16] His influential adaptation tries to lift Apuleius' language and adjusts it to contemporary German style for his intended audience, the *Weltmann* or 'cosmopolitan gentleman'. Since Goethe's travels to Italy (1786–8), well-to-do Germans who had succumbed to *Italiensehnsucht*, a desire to visit and experience Italy, would attempt to include Rome and the Villa Farnesina in their programme,[17] and Goethe's dining room (Gelber Salon) in Weimar featured Dorigny's etchings. Rode's translation is spirited, full of rococo charm, and covers Apuleius' whole stylistic range, while offering a certain squeamishness at the lower end of his content and language, and faithful Apuleian playfulness at its higher end.[18]

Fig. 2 Nicolas Dorigny (1658–1746), coloured etching from Weimar, Klassik Stiftung Weimar (inventory number GGr/Sch.1.337,0092), based on Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483–1520), *Mercury Brings Psyche up to Olympus*. Fresco from Loggia di Psiche, Villa Farnesina, Rome. Raphael 1517/18. Image credit: bpk-Bildagentur/Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

In 1783, Rode felt he needed to apologize to his dedicatee about some ‘üppigen Stellen’ (‘lush passages’) of his text, but excuses himself by claiming to follow in the footsteps of Catullus, Petronius, and La Fontaine, among others. He argues that a book like his can be easily hidden from the eyes of the innocent. In his ‘Ankündigung’ (‘announcement’), which follows the dedicatory letter in the 1783 edition, he sets out what he knows about Apuleius. He was no great fan of Apuleius’ style, which he called ‘kostbar’ (‘pretentious’) and ‘schwülstig’ (‘overblown’), while criticizing his long sentences. He blames Apuleius’ tasteless times, African origin, and distance from Rome; none of these criticisms would hold any longer today but were echoed in discussions of Apuleius’ style from Rode up to late into the twentieth century.[19] Rode also explains that he leaves out several of his comments and explanations from the 1780 C&P translation, since he has

already published them. His worries about self-plagiarism therefore make his complete translation appear at times less scholarly than his version of C&P. Rode's sympathetic 'Life of Apuleius' (pp. I–XX) is well documented, summarizes autobiographical sections from the *Apologia* and *Florida*, and is free from the mistakes of previous translators who conflated the lives of Apuleius and his creation Lucius. Rode accuses Apuleius of bragging about his abilities (p. XVII) and sees the novel as a work of the wiser and more censorious Apuleius' later life, as shown by his satiric stance against the sins of his time, such as loose morals or false beliefs, raising concerns many of his contemporaries shared about Apuleius' suitability as reading material.

His employer, the enlightened prince Franz von Anhalt-Dessau, was highly appreciative of Cupid and Psyche. Rode worked on his translation of the tale while he was also in charge of the gardens of the Wörlitzer Schloss near Dessau.[20] In the palace, designed by the prince's friend Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorff, the rooms belonging to the prince's wife Princess Luise[21] were painted and decorated with Cupid and Psyche motifs —for example, with a special focus on the story's marriage theme, such as a copy of the Marlborough cameo, which features the marriage of Cupid and Psyche, over the door to the prince's rooms.[22] She also placed Angelika Kauffmann's sublime and de-eroticized painting *Cupid Comforts Psyche* in her Luisium.[23] Rode described these paintings later in his life,[24] and Goethe visited in 1797 to see them.

Rode's philological approach to the story, together with the interest shown by German enlightenment figures, is one of the reasons why C&P became popular in German Romanticism, especially among its figureheads who had links to classical scholars in Germany.

4. Cupid and Psyche as a Romantic Fairy Tale

The rise of Romanticism also saw a more scholarly approach to material such as fairy tales. French fairy tales were not translated into German during the first half of the eighteenth century, but were read by upper-class Germans in French.[25] In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, they began to spread widely through German translations, and were seen as

entertainment for young people (as in France, too, with the work of Perrault) and the lower classes.[26] Importantly, these translations include *Der Frau Maria le Prince de Beaumont Lehren der Tugend und Weisheit für die Jugend* (ed. Friedrich Eberhard Rambach, Halle, 1758), and Friedrich Bierling's 1761–6 translation of D'Aulnoy, *Das Cabinet der Feen*, and with those, of course, their versions of Beauty and the Beast with their links to Cupid and Psyche (for which see Chapter 2).[27] The idea of C&P as essentially a fairy tale was influential in bourgeois Germany, an approach that sparked poetic and philological treatments of the story and widened the access of the allegedly lower-class future informants of the Brothers Grimm to this material.

Emblematic of a scholarly approach connected with the popular fairy-tale associations of Cupid and Psyche is *Psyche, ein Feenmährchen des Appulejus, lateinisch, mit Anmerkungen* (Göttingen 1789).[28] This presents a Latin text with German annotations, and the advertisements in contemporary journals do not on the whole give the editor's name. The book appeared anonymously, but was the work of Johann Heinrich August Schulze (1755–1803),[29] a German Protestant theologian and Classical scholar, who published Apuleius' text in Latin but by his title associated it with fairy tales. This edition appeared in the wake of Rode's success, with German philological annotations excerpted from Oudendorp's recent (1786) commentary[30] for his target audience of young adult males (1789: xix), and mentioned the Farnesina paintings briefly, too, which his book might help to understand (1789: xxix). He disregarded Apuleius' book numbers and split the tale into thirty-two chapters[31] to make it as accessible as possible to readers of modern novels. The cheerful chapter titles in German introduce the Latin text: 'Nichts zu sehen, aber viel zu hören, Eine Mariage ohne Licht' ('Nothing to see but much to hear, a marriage without light'), for example, heads the chapter on Psyche's marriage (*Met*. 5.2–4). The notes are basic and helpful mainly for translation; for example, the comments on Psyche's wedding night deal entirely with the grammar. Like Rode, Schulze was interested in rehabilitating Apuleius for his readers, though not for a female readership,[32] and thus in aiming for a quite different reception than that envisaged by the French female adapters of the fairy tale, or even the contemporary poets Gleim and Jacobi (see below).

Schulze starts his book with a somewhat pedantic justification for his spelling ‘Appulejus’ and the by now familiar reconstruction of Apuleius’ biography. Again he calls Apuleius’ style ‘Schwulst und Űberladung und Tändelei’ (‘bombast, grandiloquence, and frivolity’ (p. x)), which he blames on Apuleius’ *Africitas*.[33] A scholarly overview of available Apuleius editions and commentaries follows. He explains his decision to publish C&P by itself, as this ‘allerliebstes Mährchen’ (‘most delightful fairy tale’ (p. xviii)) is not well known enough, since Apuleius as a whole is not read much. He justifies his title choice, as the story is full of ‘Feeerey’ (‘fairy things’ (p. xxii)), even though he admits the term itself is much more recent than antiquity. He hopes perhaps to find the support to edit the whole text of the *Metamorphoses* (p. xxi) in a similar form if there were any interest, but this does not seem to have materialised: Schulze’s attempt to appeal to scholars and general readers interested in fairy tales alike had only moderate success.[34]

Female readers, on the other hand, were given access to ‘gender-appropriate’ versions of Psyche as a fairy tale, often in suitably bowdlerized versions that suppress Psyche’s pregnancy. This was greatly helped by the disassociation of the story from Apuleius, because he was not seen as the original author, as we shall see. Instead, the story was attributed either to a fairy-tale source or to a lost Greek original, as contemporary philhellenic taste in the mid-eighteenth century universally preferred Greece over Rome and sought to associate this beloved story with the former, perhaps encouraged by Apuleius’ own claim to have written a *fabulam Graecanicam*, a ‘Grecian tale’ (*Met.* 1.1).[35] This separation allowed writers and readers to distance themselves from the more explicitly erotic elements of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* and to suggest an idealized yet imaginary Greek origin for C&P.

A work exemplifying this disconnect was published first in 1786, with a second edition in 1789, the same year as Schulze’s *Feenmährchen*. This was a popular version in German prose by the poet and theologian Ludwig Gotthard (or Theobul) Kosegarten (1758–1818), *Psyche. Ein Mährchen des Altertums*, which marked the year of Kosegarten’s marriage to Katharina Linde in Greifswald.[36] In the preface to the second edition he simplified, as he thought, the story into a small work that he could write in a short time, and dedicated it to a woman: ‘Henriette L in G’, who had first enjoyed his oral telling of it, he says. The story becomes intimate, a simple fairy tale,

and a means to communicate with women about the right kind of love, which is non-sensual and heaven-inspired. In the end it is revealed that he is not only Henriette's instructor in terms of love, but also her admirer.[37] Since 'Henriette' is metrically identical to 'Katharina', an autobiographical reading of his text is evidently possible: his Psyche is sentimentalized, his own ideal woman who masters all her challenges by the ability to inspire admiring love in everyone she encounters. Kosegarten sets out for her in simplistic and romantic terms what he thinks is the life of Apuleius, mixed with that of Lucius (i.e. claiming that it was Apuleius who was initiated into the cult of Osiris in Rome (p. 8), with his marriage to Pudentilla afterwards (p. 9)). Psyche is the soul of man, cold and distant until love for God is awakened in her, where she is happy until human passions separate them (p. 14), when finally penitence unites her with her God. Kosegarten combines implicit Protestantism and a Platonic allegorical reading of the story (a reading of the novel that goes back to Beroaldo) in his introduction with the simple fairy-tale notion of his subtitle.[38]

His adaptation itself uses simple, often religious language—for example, Psyche's suitors are 'Wallfahrer', pilgrims, while Psyche is 'kirchenräuberisch' ('pilfering from churches' (p. 28)) when she is worshipped instead of Venus. The focus is on the emotionally charged scenes: a lengthy passage describes Cupid's rapture when Venus shows Psyche to him. Gods and humans reveal their feelings in lengthy monologues and are sensitive and emotional throughout, while Nature is in sympathy with Psyche. When Psyche cries in misery because she misses her family, Cupid in love promises her rashly whatever she desires, and repents immediately when she asks to see her family (pp. 5–8; on a similar motif in Wagner's *Lohengrin*, see Section 13. When she breaks the taboo, it hits him hardest that she is mortal and he divine, and that he has broken his mother's command (pp. 81–2). Unusually, neither her pregnancy nor her suicide attempts and her desire for revenge on her sisters are entirely suppressed, merely toned down; for example, the abstract goddess Nemesis drives Psyche's revenge. It is, however, the personification *Neugier*, Curiosity, who finally drags Psyche before Venus (p. 111), and it is Venus' handmaidens *Angst* and *Herzeleid* (Fear and Heartache) who torture her, as a clear adaptation of Apuleius' personifications Sollicitudo and Tristities (*Met*. 6.9). Three of Psyche's tasks are quite literally presented, but her descent into Hades instead becomes a gladdening of Hell. All Underworld

creatures welcome the innocent girl and immediately help her with pleasure. As Persephone asks Sleep to carry her back to Earth, it is his presence, not the opening of the casket, which puts Psyche to sleep. After Cupid wakes her up, she confidently brings the casket to Venus and defiantly claims that she can do anything, since she is in love with Cupid, but is aware of her mortality. Venus' anger melts away, and Jupiter makes Psyche immortal. Their child is born and called *Wonne* ('delight'); the gender is, perhaps poignantly, not revealed, although the noun in German is feminine.[39]

Although the story stays fairly close to Apuleius, in his Nachwort ('afterword') Kosegarten claims that his text was inspired by Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone*, which features an extensive inset tale based on C&P (p. 133; see Chapter 1 above), and that he had read Apuleius merely much later, and La Fontaine not at all. This may be a claim to Romantic originality, and the apology is significantly set in an afterword directed not immediately to his adored female addressee, but to his wider readership. The poem's three parts follow closely Apuleius' distribution of the story over three books.[40] The sensuous narrative treats the story as a *Kunstmärchen,* an artistic fairy tale that can often be attributed to a specific author but written in a style to emulate oral fairy tales,[41] whereas folk tales are seen as traditional and oral creations.[42] This indicates the interest of scholars in the text and its alleged fairy-tale origins alongside courtly French and Italian literature, but with more scholarly ambition and envisaging a possible educated female readership such as was prominent in German Romantic circles. In 1796, Kosegarten returned to Psyche from a philosophical perspective with the small pamphlet (now lost) *Eudämons Briefe an Psyche, oder Untersuchungen über das Urschöne, Urwahre und Urgute.* ('Eudämon's letters to Psyche, or investigations of original beauty, truth and goodness') (Leipzig 1796).[43]

A final example again combines Romanticism and fairy tale sensitivity with an interesting reading of the story. While a student in Göttingen, the young German poet and philologist Ernst Konrad Friedrich Schulze (1789–1817), influenced by Wieland (see below), whose Muses or rather Phantasy he evokes (1807: 160), wrote his *Psyche: Ein griechisches Märchen in Sieben Büchern* ('A Greek Fairy Tale in Seven Books') in 1807. It was published after his death in 1819.[44] In an address to Wieland, Schulze

acknowledges him as his inspiration, but calls the story itself a ‘Feenquelle der zauberischen Phantasie’ (‘a fairy fountain of magical phantasy’).

Schulze’s Psyche (often given the affectionately diminutive nickname ‘Psycharion’), like Wieland’s, grows up among shepherds, but Cupid magically abducts her and marries her, obsessed by her beauty. He forbids her to find out who he is, but in her lonely wanderings she encounters at his palace a statue of the goddess Jealousy, and in her crystal ball she sees herself next to a horrible ‘Drachen’ (‘dragon’) with a leonine head. Horrified, she intends to kill it, but wakes Cupid up via the Apuleian drop of oil. The plot continues closer to Apuleius’ text than Kosegarten’s, although it is occasionally Cupid himself who is made to help his desperate wife, a question still discussed in modern scholarship on Apuleius.[45] When she opens Proserpina’s bottle (adapted from the original’s box, perhaps under the influence of Pandora’s jar), she sinks lifelessly to the ground, but then regains consciousness and throws herself into the sea, where she loses consciousness again. When she wakes up in Venus’ garden, she is greeted by the three Graces, including Aglaia, who reveals herself as her mother and Apollo as her father. This may be a learned echo of Martianus Capella and Boccaccio, who both make Psyche Apollo’s daughter.[46] Venus welcomes and forgives her, and Cupid carries Psyche to Olympus to be his wife. What is called a fairy tale is again a contemplation of the immortality of the Soul and of how it is the object and creator of poetry.

5. The Anacreontics

The idea of Psyche’s innocence and naivety that needed to be instructed by a more experienced male teacher, originated by Prasch and showcased by Kosegarten, was a key element of another subgroup in her reception. Psyche played a surprising part in the poetry of the eighteenth-century Anacreontic movement, where she became an incarnation of maidenly innocence set free from Apuleius’ plot and philosophy, rather than an active participant in a complete love story. The Anacreontics were inspired by the poems of Horace and his Greek predecessor Anacreon,[47] and driven by the poetic engagement with Roman poetry and artwork that became popular in Germany at the time. Anacreontic poetry, associated with Protestant

Prussia, provides an interesting link to Prasch's ideology and also involves scholarly engagement with classical literature.[48] Various girls inspired by Horace's poems, e.g. Lalage (Hor. *Odes* 1.22; Gleim's 'An Lalage'n'), become the focus of Anacreontic delight in love, life, and wine, all set in playful Rococo landscapes populated by shepherds and shepherdesses full of Epicurean enjoyment of the present. Psyche is the idealized counterpart to the more sexually available Horatian girls in this type of poetry, and rarely the destined lover of Cupid in a form a reader of Apuleius would recognize.

Heavily inspired by classical scholars and philologists, Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803) was an influential poet of the German Enlightenment; he moved in high Prussian circles and served the Prussian crown.[49] His Anacreontic Psyche is an innocent teasing young girl—for example, in the poem 'Psyche', where she herds her sheep and coquettishly steals Cupid's weapons. His cycle of twenty-five poems *Amor und Psyche* (1796)[50] lets the lovers grow up while interacting with each other and other members of the Greek Pantheon—Cupid is mischievous and intent on making his arrows, Psyche is full of love. Psyche's character, accompanied by Graces and Muses, inspires the poet, but remains static. This Psyche is herself an artist who, among other things, embroiders and writes, which makes her attractive to Cupid. Psyche is both inspiration for and inspired by poets. As the plot is not dependent on Apuleius, Cupid's warning to Psyche not to touch his arrows so as not to give herself a deadly wound[51] is not ironic, although an allusion to *Met.* 5.23 is possible. The short poems include poetic manifestos for the ideas of Sensibility (*Empfindsamkeit*) and classicism.[52]

Though Gleim's Anacreontic poems were not universally admired, they attracted contemporary composers, such as Beethoven, who set them to music;[53] he was also the mentor of, for example, Johann Heinrich Voss (1751–1826), a classicist and poet whose translations of Homer are still held in high regard today. Gleim and his fellow-Anacreontic Jacobi (below) enjoyed writing fictional poetic letters to each other, in which the two described their admiration for a fictitious young and innocent Psyche who serves as their Muse and inspiration.[54] The Anacreontic Psyche is a highly literary product of poets' creative engagement with the classical world, who lives alongside the Muses on Parnassus, whereas Apuleius is sidelined.

Gleim's fellow Anacreontic Johann Georg Jacobi (1740–1814) was a poet and philosopher, and professor at the University of Freiburg in 1784;[55] his younger brother Friedrich Heinrich was a friend of Goethe's, who disliked J. G. Jacobi's poetry and called it only of interest to women (not a compliment). J. G. Jacobi's poetic cycle 'Der Schmetterling nebst drey Liedern' ('The butterfly and three songs' (1772)) moves into sentimentalism rather than Anacreontism, and furthermore displays some interest in Platonism; it arose out of conversations with Wieland and his influential 'muse' Maria Sophie von La Roche (née Gutermann von Gutershofen (1730–1807), herself a writer). She was initially engaged to Wieland but married von La Roche during one of the former's absences; see below).[56] The songs explain the immortality of the soul to a dying young girl; Psyche is associated with the beautiful death of a young maiden, and the symbol of the butterfly is explained as the explicit ancient token of immortality.[57] Here as in Jacobi's previous Anacreontic phase the inspiration may have come from art such as gemstones rather than from Apuleius' text (see Chapter 4 for further gemstone inspired poems),[58] but the philosophical subtext is of course already present in the Latin novel (see Chapter 1). The internal audience, the protagonist, and the intended audience of the poems, Sophie von La Roche, who served as recipient and inspiration of these rather morbid poems, and one of whose daughters Jacobi courted unsuccessfully,[59] are all female. They are explicitly imagined as recipients of this poetry,[60] which moves beyond any inspiration from fine art and becomes a free-standing literary text, which shares with Apuleius' C&P its heroine, her *katabasis*, and the author's Platonist ideal of the immortality of the soul, but little else.

6. Wieland's Psyches

This version of a classical and Romantic Psyche finds its most memorable incarnation in the work of the dramatist and novelist Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), who himself was influenced by the French fairy tales and adapted several fairy tales, including Giambattista Basile's 'Pervonto' in 1778–9, into his own verse narratives.[61] He was deeply interested in Greece and Rome throughout his life, especially in Lucian, and translated

the Lucianic *Onos* into German in 1798, making the ass story available in German for the first time since Sieder's and Rode's translations of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (see above).[62] He argued that 'Loukios of Patrae' must have expanded on the *Onos* story, since Lucian (whom he believed to the author of the *Onos*) would be incapable of plagiarizing another author. This theory, no longer accepted now, was influential in his day.[63]

Wieland's various Psyches are comparable to the playful use of Psyche in the Anacreontics but are also indebted to his interest in philosophy and reflect elements from the rest of Apuleian's novel as well as from C&P. Wieland delighted in (Greek) antiquity, and all his work was steeped in its appreciation; Goethe admired his idealistic portraits of Greece. Throughout his writings, he combined Platonism with Hedonism, and also with a good dose of Socratic irony.[64]

Wieland's 'Bruckstücke von Psyche, einem unvollendet gebliebenen allegorischen Gedichte' ('Fragments of Psyche, an allegorical poem that remains incomplete') was written over a number of years and finally published by him in 1767,[65] after some parts of the original composition had been integrated into various other works—for example, his famous verse narrative 'Musarion'.[66] Wieland's preface, where he explains the context of his fragments, explicitly refers to Apuleius' Milesian Tale and the *Golden Ass,* and Apuleian influences are notable: his Psyche is an innocent girl who, as soon as she falls in love with a young man, is kidnapped by Zephyrus to the realm of Cupid; Cupid himself is split by Wieland into two half-brothers, one more sensual, the other Platonic, which may recall Apuleius' own representation of two types of Venus in his novel and philosophy, themselves based on Plato's *Symposium*.[67] The *Bruchstücke* are set specifically into the context of the reception of the Latin text, which, so Wieland claimed in the preface, had captured his imagination since his early youth, and the image of Psyche is a dream of his own love, that, whenever he tried to grasp it in his arms, would fly away and escape, an allusion to his lost love La Roche as well as possibly to the ghost of Aeneas' wife Creusa in *Aeneid* 2.792–6.[68] He calls his incomplete fragment a 'zart gesponnene[s] psychologische[s] Feenmährchen[s]', a 'tenderly spun psychological fairy tale' (Wieland 1795a: 200).

Just as Apuleius features C&P as an inset tale, so does Wieland. The context is the love felt by the handsome Zoroastrian priest Alkahest, who tells the story to his admired Aspasia II, a priestess of Diana in Ekbatana, which sets the story in the fifth century BCE (Fragment II).[69] Fragment I associates the story with, among other authors, Plato and Hermes Trismegistos, who also claimed to write fairy tales. There are elements of Longus and reminiscences of Anacreontic idylls (see above), as Psyche, a foundling of unknown origins, grows up alongside a young shepherd. Later when the adolescent girl is in love with a lowly shepherd (Fragment III), she is whisked away by Zephyrus to a beautiful palace full of incorporeal voices. Now this allegory of the human soul is all curiosity. She meets a beautiful stranger by a fountain and falls in love with him immediately, but 'like a sister'. When she hears music and strange voices, she does not see anyone, but she guesses that the creature near her is Cupid, the 'most beautiful of all the gods', the god of Love. Indeed, Cupid's invisibility is not caused by his mother's command, but (Platonically) by Psyche's unpreparedness for full revelations. After the Graces prepare her for marriage, Cupid visits her in her sleep and admires her beauty at length, in an inversion of Apuleius' narrative, where it is Psyche who admires the sleeping Cupid's perfect body (*Met*. 5.21–2), a modification popular in this time and later, see Chapter 4 (Tighe) and Chapter 5 (Morris).[70] Wieland's Cupid leaves her a virgin, since he is the Platonic god and feels no erotic attraction to her.

That is where the plot breaks off, but Wieland seems to suggest that there are two kinds of Cupid/Love, half-brothers and opposites in nature, one wisdom-loving and appreciative of the soul's beauty, the other a connoisseur of physical love. As Wieland's poem ends abruptly, we never learn how he would have solved the conundrum of the complicated family relationships and Psyche's marriage to one of two gods that he originally seems to have had in mind. The plot is coloured by its Platonist and philosophical context, and very freely adapted from Apuleius, but shows some knowledge of the novel as a whole. For example, the goddess Isis, who plays a major role in the last book of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, is Psyche's mother.[71] Psyche (inspired by Wieland's then fiancée La Roche) is both innocent and sensitive (*empfindsam*), as well as transcendental. The transition from fairy tale to high literature is fluid, and yet again it is the

female influence on the author that leads to the focus on Psyche as their protagonist.

In the same year of 1767, Wieland also published the *Bildungsroman* ('novel of development') *Geschichte des Agathon* ('The story of Agathon'), which especially in its happy ending shows some similarities with the Greek novels.[72] It has two parts and, like the *Metamorphoses*, eleven books. In this novel Wieland combines elements of Anacreontism and sentimentalism, and describes his own intellectual development, but disguises this thinly by setting the novel in the historical context of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. It traces the life of Agathon, a young Platonic idealist,[73] his philosophical education, and his idealized and innocent first love for Psyche (in his youth, a Platonic longing) and then for Danae, a courtesan trained by Aspasia[74] (an enthusiastic and sentimental shared erotic relationship), whom Wieland describes as a 'sittliche Venus' (a 'moral Venus').

Agathon experiences several changes in his philosophical and religious directions. In 1.7.1, for example, he undergoes an initiation into Orphism under the direction of the Egyptian priest Theogiton, which echoes the initiations of Lucius in *Met*. 11, and experiences several epiphanies of the full Moon and Apollo. Wieland's satirical streak comes to the fore then, as it is Theogiton, lusting after the beautiful Agathon and dressed up as Apollo, not the god himself, who speaks to Agathon. This leads to a crisis in faith for Agathon, and a turn towards Platonism. Greek novelistic love rivals appear, as the Pythia too falls in love with the 18-year-old Agathon.[75]

It is only when Agathon flees for Corinth (just as Lucius flees to Corinth's harbour Cenchreae at the end of *Met*. 10) that he is recognized (again recalling ancient comedies or novels) by his father Stratonicus as an Athenian citizen, long lost to his family because of tragic circumstances (1.7.5). Like Chaereas in Chariton's *Kallirhoe*, he becomes a universally admired young leader of armies until he has to leave Athens because of his rivals' jealousy. His passionate affair with the beautiful Danae is destroyed in 2.8.1–4 by the sceptic Hippias, who had brought them together as a philosophical experiment,[76] when Hippias reveals to Agathon that she is a *hetaira*, a lover of Alcibiades (*c*.450–404 BCE) and Cyrus the Younger (who died 401 BCE at the Battle of Cunaxa) as well as of Hippias himself, who had orchestrated their love. Agathon moves to Syracuse, where he hopes to

find his idealized Psyche again. In Sicily, Agathon is more successful than Plato in turning the tyrant Dionysius towards philosophy (2.9.5).[77] At this stage, Agathon looks like the Vatican Apollo, plays the cithara for Dionysius (see *Apollonius King of Tyre* 16) and gives displays of philosophical and rhetorical skill, until, two years later, he backs the wrong woman in Dionysius' erotic adventures, loses his influence, and becomes a pragmatist (2.10.3). He moves to Tarentum, ruled by a friendly Pythagorean, Archytas, in whose female quarters Agathon spots his long-lost love Psyche, recently married to Archytas' son.

Agathon now realizes that Psyche is in fact his own sister, like him separated from their parents at birth because of their tragic (or rather New Comedy) love story. Finally, a storm drives Agathon and his brother-in-law to a lonely farmhouse, where a single lady lives virtuously by herself. This turns out to be Danae, retired from her previous profession, whom Agathon recognizes as the mistress of the farmhouse as soon as he sees statues of her in the hall. Danae's servant in turn recognizes Agathon. Danae and Psyche become friends, but we are left to guess the inescapable happy ending.

The novel features two Psyches; the first is a little pantomime dancer in 1.4.5, who enacts the story of Apollo and Daphne, and whom Agathon, enthusiastic and oversensitive (*empfindsam*) as he is, imagines to be similar in appearance and name to his lost love Psyche (1.4.6). The main Psyche of the story is more Anacreontic, however: a temple servant alongside Agathon in Apollo's temple in Delphi, three or four years younger than the then 18-year-old Agathon (1.7.2–4), who believes her to resemble Diana (a Greek novel trope: Heliodorus' heroine Charicleia, for example, dresses as Artemis in Delphi (Hld. 3.4), and in the novel's first scene (Hld. 1.2)). Both their origins are uncertain, their love develops slowly in Delphi but remains chaste, echoing Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, but they are separated when Agathon flees Delphi, and again after a very short accidental reunion on the road, thanks to robbers and shipwrecks. The flashback telling Psyche's backstory in 2.11.3 features storms, pirates, and a shipwreck (further Greek novel tropes), where she was the only one saved, as Zephyrus blows Psyche on a plank on to land where a fisherman and his wife take her in (with possible echoes of La Fontaine, see Chapter 2). The wife turns out to be Psyche's former nurse, and she recognizes her because of a token (necklace) and similarities with her dead mother Musarion. Psyche's real name turns out to be Philoclea.

It is clear that this Psyche shares some similarities with the protagonist of the *Bruchstücke* in her naivety, beauty, and story, but she is not a goddess and child of Isis, but the offspring of an ill-starred love between two Athenians. In either text, however, she is desirable and to an extent sexually available, yet ultimately not the destined lover of the protagonist but a Platonic ideal: the Cupid in *Bruchstücke* leaves her and perhaps his half-brother might become her bridegroom, while Agathon's love for her is Platonic in several ways. Whereas Agathon's mind is allowed to grow and change, Psyche remains a stagnant yet beautiful ideal,[78] both allegory and a focus for female identification. Despite this divergence from Apuleius' story, there are, as shown above, several echoes from C&P (e.g. the clever use of Zephyrus), the *Metamorphoses* (Theogiton as priest), and other ancient novels, employed freely and mischievously to form a novel of development. This recognition of ancient plot elements is deliberate: both men and women are Wieland's expected readers and well versed in antiquity, having already read Horace, Ovid, Martial, Petronius, Apuleius, and perhaps Aristophanes (2.8.5–7), and who could therefore enjoy Wieland's playful non-love between Agathon and his Psyche.

For Wieland, Psyche continues to be the synonym for an unavailable, forbidden object of love. In 1774 he published the poem 'Die erste Liebe. An Psyche' (also titled 'An Psyche. Die Quelle der Vergessenheit' ('The first love. To Psyche' or 'To Psyche. The fountain of forgetfulness')). It passionately addresses Psyche as a friend and was published for a young friend's engagement. Wieland again works through his failed engagement with La Roche but sublimates it and reminisces about the non-consummation of his love for her, while suggesting that the engaged couple will find love with each other.[79]

Like others (e.g. Kosegarten, Johann Gottfried Herder, Caroline Flachsland, and further members of their circle), Wieland uses the character of Psyche in an autobiographical manner to discuss his own love, clearly encouraged by the eighteenth century's reluctance to associate C&P with its morally suspect creator Apuleius.[80] His own idealized, Platonic, and unfulfilled love, especially with La Roche, is reflected in his innocent and unavailable Psyche(s) in novels and poems. The interest of learned writers in Platonism and sensitivity we have seen in Wieland lead to a specific interest in the femininity of Psyche beyond Anacreontic playfulness.

7. Herder and his Circle: *Sturm und Drang* and Classicism

At the same time, German classicism, itself intrinsically linked with scholarly exploration of antiquity, discovered the C&P story for itself. Wieland, as noted above, had profound knowledge of the classics. His friend Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) is of crucial importance in the reception of C&P in Germany, and, alongside his friend Sophie von La Roche (see above), in many ways its fulcrum.[81] A Protestant theologian, philosopher, poet and literary critic, he was later part of the Weimar Circle (alongside Wieland, Goethe, and Schiller) and influenced Goethe's interest in classical Greek and Latin texts and English novels, as well as his early writings.

Alongside the young Goethe and Schiller, Herder became a major proponent of *Sturm und Drang* in the 1770s, a German continuation of and response to the Enlightenment, which tried to break with constraining bourgeois literary rules for the sake of a more emotional approach driven by individuals who felt themselves at one with nature.[82] Greece was preferred over Rome, and Homer, Pindar, and Shakespeare became the literary heroes of writers who admired *Originalgenies* ('original geniuses') above all for their natural talents. Together with Goethe and Schiller, Herder influenced the foundation of classicism in Weimar, when he turned towards a thorough study of the human soul as the driver of literature and imagination. His philosophy was a deeply felt humanism aiming to make the human soul strive towards its divine nature, in a cult of the genius (*Geniekult*).

Herder also had long friendships with Gleim and Jacobi, and met Angelika Kauffmann on travels in Italy in 1788–9. Kauffmann had spent fifteen years in London (1766–81) before moving back to Rome, where she found fame. Some of her Cupid and Psyche themed works show a focus on the feminine experience and gaze (see Fig. 3), while at the same time desexualizing it. Kauffmann herself was then identified by Herder as a *schöne Seele*, a 'beautiful soul', a description she shared with Herder's wife.[83] Again, both Psyche and female creators of her images become idealized, similarly to Wieland's pure and idealized Psyche in *Agathon.*

Fig. 3 Angelica Kauffman (Maria Anna Angelika Kauffmann, 1741–1807), *The Legend of Cupid and Psyche*. Oil on canvas, Museo Civico Revoltella, Trieste, Italy. Image credit: Museo Civico Rivoltello, Trieste, Italy/Alinari/Bridgeman Images.

Herder's wife, Maria Karoline Herder née Flachsland,[84] was another influential member of his circle; she supported him throughout his life and edited his works after his death. She was nicknamed 'Psyche', his sensitive (*empfindsame*) soul, during their courtship[85] and became the object of Psyche poems by Goethe and Johann Heinrich Merck in addition to Herder, who, for example, directed his poem 'An Psyche' to her during their courtship. Herder himself had treated the subject from a scholarly perspective and referred to her as 'Psyche' from their earliest correspondence. Goethe's 1772 poem 'Fels-Weihegesang ǀ An Psyche' ('Rock-consecration song ǀ to Psyche'), addressed to Flachsland and less inspired by Apuleius and his location of Psyche on a rock for a marriage to

death in *Met*. 4.35 than by Flachsland herself and her love for the specific landscape he places her in, describes Psyche's longing for her absent lover. This was a clear allusion to the engagement between Flachsland and Herder; the latter reacted rather negatively.[86] Even so, it is remarkable that the title 'Psyche' is given to women who were active participants in these literary circles, women who themselves wrote novels or poems, perhaps as an indication of their creative souls. One of the very few love stories from antiquity where the woman has a more active role to play than the man must have offered these women recognition and encouragement.[87]

It was mostly due to Herder, a classical scholar and Protestant priest, that allusions to Psyche were linked in his circle with Apuleius as well as with art. Remarkably, Herder disliked Apuleius' version of the story, which he saw as a degenerate and late version of a lost and noble Greek narrative that Apuleius had merely cobbled together, fairy-tale style, an idea that had considerable influence on contemporary and future German scholarship on the novel.[88] To him, Apuleius cannot be the original author of this gentle allegory on the experiences of the Soul after death, but merely a vandal who turned it into an indecent fairy tale. Involved as he was in contemporary literary circles, Herder's influence on writers attempting to get to the bottom of the lost Greek myth of Love and the Soul, for which Apuleius was merely a late and degenerate source, was immense. Herder composed a few epigrams that reflect this Platonic concept of winged Love himself:

> Warum, o Liebe, hälst du den Schmetterling an den Flügeln?
>
> Sind nicht, du wei*ß*t es selbst, Lieb' und Beflügelung Eins?[89]
>
> Why, o Love, are you grasping the butterfly's wings?
>
> Are not, you know it yourself, love and wingedness One?

Critics of this approach were very few—for example, the philologist Johann Kaspar Friedrich Manso (1760–1826; a literary enemy of Schiller and Goethe) criticized Herder's approach and its reliance on Fulgentius' doubtful report of Aristophontes as the original writer of the story, as all witnesses to the story of Cupid and Psyche are later than Apuleius.[90] Apuleius is then rehabilitated as author and philosopher, who himself composed this allegory of Plato's portrait of the soul purified by suffering.

Herder's focus lay elsewhere. The butterfly as an image of the departing soul ('psyche' in Greek means both) is a common metaphor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and universal knowledge, as the

influential Enlightenment poet and critic Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81) claims in his 1769 study ‘Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet’ (‘How the ancients portrayed death’). His answer is that death is portrayed as a winged youth with an extinguished torch and crossed legs, in some ways resembling Cupid, often with images of a butterfly as the soul of the departed nearby. Herder responded to Lessing in 1774 (revised in 1786) with a pamphlet of the same title in seven ‘letters’ or chapters, in which he contextualizes and problematizes Lessing’s argument.[91] Especially in the ‘Fifth Letter’, Herder focuses on Roman imagery portraying Psyche, butterflies, and Cupid with a raised torch in the context of death that may merge the iconography of Lessing’s Death and Cupid, and retells Apuleius’ story with focus on the elements in the story that resemble death imagery—for example, Psyche’s first marriage to death, or her katabasis. Herder therefore was familiar with the idea that Cupid and death are closely associated in their iconography, and saw in Apuleius’ story allegories of death, in his mind merging images of death and Amor with his torch. A sense of the Platonist immortality of the soul makes Herder’s interest compatible with his profession as pastor.

Many eighteenth-century poets enjoyed the C&P story because of its imagery of death of a maiden and resurrection, the marriage to death complex.[92] Contemporary grave art for young girls and women displayed Psyche imagery, echoing its presence on Roman sarcophagi often used for children.[93] Herder is no exception, as his poems on statues of C&P on a tombstone show. His poem ‘Amor und Psyche’ exists in three versions, all of which sensuously portray the two lovers embracing in death and turning into stone.[94] The poem is clearly inspired by and about a pair of statues, perhaps similar to the Capitoline group (see Fig. 4)[95]—the subtitle of the version published in 1800 in Schiller’s *Musen-Almanach* is ‘Eine berühmte Gruppe’ (‘a famous group’).[96] His ‘Amor und Psyche auf einem Grabmal’ (‘Cupid and Psyche on a tombstone’)[97] makes it clear that the couple was given this metamorphosis as special favour by an angel and placed on a grave as its marker to allow them to be safely united forever.[98]

Fig. 4 Abraham Rees (1743–1825), etching of the Capitoline statue group of Cupid and Psyche (1818), from Rees (1819): vol. iv of Plates, ‘Sculpture’, plate 1. Reproduced with the kind permission of Special Collections, Leeds University Library (Brotherton Collection).

8. The Brothers Grimm and the German Fairy Tale

Herder studied ancient texts from an aesthetic perspective, and wrote influential treatises on, for example, Shakespeare, 'Ossian', and the German language, but also collected German *Volksdichtung* ('folk poetry'), published in 1773 as *Stimmen der Völker in ihren Liedern* ('Voices of peoples in their songs').[99] He was interested in the nature and characteristics of all peoples and nations, which he believed were all of equal value, though defined by their specific *Volksseele* (soul of the people). Herder's beliefs in tolerance and cultural identities were influential on Romanticism, and found expression, among other things, in the works of folklorists and collectors of fairy tales, including the poet Clemens Brentano (1778–1842) and the Brothers Grimm.[100] Like them, Herder was fascinated by fairy tales and their function in early education, a focus specifically of German fairy tales written during Romanticism.

The idea of the *Volksseele* as the origin of fairy tales is nowadays very much questioned by folklorists; Bottigheimer, for example, traces the development of fairy tales via printed books through Europe.[101] The stories of the Brothers Grimm were no exception:

> In the case of the Grimms, it was long—and erroneously—believed that they had made great efforts to preserve existing, but nearly extinct, folk versions of the tales published in their collection, whereas in fact their fifty years of editing can be fairly characterised as having turned widely available tales from literary sources into carefully crafted reflections of contemporary folk grammatical usage and contemporary bourgeois beliefs about folk social values.[102]

Many of the German Romantic writers, from Novalis to Brentano, in the last decade of the eighteenth century wrote fairy tales themselves. Albert Ludwig Grimm (1789–1872), no relation of the Brothers Grimm but a collaborator of Brentano, published in Frankfurt in 1824 'Das Märchen von der schönen Psyche' in his first volume of his *Mährchen der alten Griechen und Römer*. Grimm[103] attempts to bring out the fairy-tale elements of the story, and, for example, includes many more animal helpers. His frequent bird messengers include a dove and a yellow sparrow, and the helpers during Psyche's tasks are animals grateful because Psyche had saved them, including a butterfly that was actually an Underworld demon (and thus an intertextually interesting animal to pick for Grimm's Psyche to engage with

rather than herself descending into the Underworld, as her Apuleian counterpart does in *Met*. 6.18–19) and whom she had rescued from an owl, and two bats, one of which is helpful, the other dangerous. The end is very much rewritten: after Cupid catches the dangerous bat and entraps it in Psyche's box, he carries Psyche into their palace. He gives up his wings and becomes a human for her sake, while she is alive on earth. In a complete inversion of Apuleius' happy ending, there is no child, and no apotheosis, so after Psyche's death Cupid moves back to the world of the gods.

While these kinds of fairy tales were unashamedly artistic and literary (*Kunstmärchen*),[104] the Grimm Brothers focused on another kind of fairy tale, simpler and based on what they believed to be traditional oral narratives told to them and their friends in person by various local women, written down in a simple and 'popular' style in several editions between 1812 and 1857. Nevertheless, French fairy tales (see Chapter 2) are the more likely sources for what the Grimms believed their young and old German storytellers had heard orally in their nurseries.[105] The Grimms' idea that folk tales had remained unchanged for centuries before they were written up by them is now seen as more and more problematic.[106] While the fairy tales of the mostly female French authors were generally seen as primarily literary achievements (*Kunstmärchen*), the German tales gathered most prominently by the Grimms were, in line with the more Romantic approach taken by the brothers, seen as derived directly from the *Volksseele* ('the people's shared soul') and *Volksmärchen* ('the people's fairy tales'), the supposed outpouring of 'natural poetry' (*Naturpoesie*, a term the Grimms had borrowed from Herder, whose own collection of German fairy tales was an important influence).[107] These tales, they believed, had no origin in one creative author, but arose long before they were written down and were transmitted orally. Accordingly they did not note down any of their tales' authorship.[108] This included several tales resembling C&P.

Wilhelm Grimm, according to Fehling, who has done seminal work on this issue,[109] saw de Villeneuve's version of 'La Belle et la Bête' (see Chapter 2, Section 4) as the most basic form of the story, but not its origin. The Grimm Brothers started collecting fairy tales in 1807, and Fehling, among others in his wake, has shown that their versions of fairy tales that resemble Beauty and the Beast derive from the written versions of fairy tales, most of them from the eighteenth century.[110] C&P leaves several

traces. In one of the earliest fairy tales they collected, ‘Prinz Schwan’, the prince is transformed into a swan, and the girl who loves him fails in the task he has set her to hold on to the end of a ball of wool; when she lets go, he flies away and marries another woman. In the end, it takes the girl three nights with him to gain him back.

First published in 1815, the beast in Dorothea Wild’s *Das singende, klingende Löweneckerchen* (‘The singing, springing lark’)[111] is a lion, and the story follows ‘La Belle et La Bête’ fairly closely. A father of three daughters is asked by his youngest to bring her a ‘singing, springing lark’ from a trip, and when he tries to catch one on his way back, a lion jumps out and threatens him. The lion lets him go under the promise that he would be sent the first thing that the man meets on his way back. That is his youngest daughter (echoes of the biblical Jephthah’s daughter, Book of Judges 11), who dutifully moves to the lion’s castle. The lion becomes a man every night, and they are happily married, until the youngest girl attends the weddings of her two sisters with the lion, and, despite his warning against letting any candlelight touch him (a variation on Psyche’s lamp) and the girl trying to prevent it, a tiny beam of light transforms her lion husband into a dove for seven years. The girl has to follow it and undergo several difficult magical tasks until, in the end, she is reunited with her husband after three nights of testing.

‘Das singende, klingende Bäumchen’ (‘The little singing ringing tree’) from 1801, from the anonymous book *Braunschweiger Feenmärchen*, is the first popular and widely spread adaptation of C&P, and the Grimms’ ‘Löweneckerchen’ story connects the 1801 tale through their scholarly annotations back to Apuleius, accusing de Villeneuve of adapting the ancient source ‘badly’.[112] The Grimms’ and other German approaches to the fairy tale focus less on the love story (as the French writers had) and more on the magical aspects. Warner[113] stresses the importance of the female gender of the storyteller in the Apuleian original, the old crone, whose point of view can be seen through Psyche and Charite and gives the story a feminine voice and focus, which in turn matched the French female writers’ own voice.[114] This cannot be said for the nineteenth-century versions collected by the Grimm Brothers, which therefore are not the focus of Warner’s magisterial book. Many German fairy tales can, however, be traced back to French versions: *Allerleirauh*, published in 1812 and based

on Dorothea Wild's story,[115] is the Grimms' version of *Peau d'Âne*, and the taboo of incest in it may well be inspired by another ancient novel, the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.[116] Consequently, many of these tales can be shown to derive from literary ancestors rather than the *Volksseele*. Altogether, thirteen German early fairy tales seem to be based on C&P.[117]

Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* ('Household tales' (1812)) become successively didactic in nature with their re-editions and were used more and more in the education of German children.[118] Dorothea Viehmann is the woman to whom the Brothers Grimm attributed many of their tales, claiming her to be the voice of the people. But she was not a peasant but the wife of a tailor, and her stories show influence from French literary texts.[119] Alongside the insistence of earlier German authors on calling their adaptations of C&P fairy tales (Schulze, Kosegarten), finding elements of French versions of C&P in her stories as presented by the Grimms is therefore not unsurprising.

There is furthermore evidence of another literary influence on the Brothers Grimm. They included summaries and adaptations of Giambattista Basile's *Lo cunto de li cunti* ('The Tale of Tales' *(*1634–36)), deceptively simple fairy tales written in Neapolitan dialect by a learned poet and well-connected courtier, in the second edition (1822) of their work,[120] and that collection also included stories derived from Cupid and Psyche (see Chapter 1 Section 4: ('Il catenaccio' ('The Padlock') and 'Tronco d'oro' ('The Golden Trunk')); C&P motifs appear in further tales.[121] Basile's stories also formed the basis of some of Perrault's French fairy tales.[122] The Grimm Brothers' versions of Basile's tales were more romantic and magical, with much of Basile's sexual colour and sordidness suppressed. Jacob Grimm, in his *Vorrede* (Preface) to their Basile translation, saw the link to C&P quite clearly.[123] Via Basile, C&P made its way into the fairy tales of much of Europe.[124] Basile's adaptations of Psyche[125] are deliberately earthy; the protagonists are human, and their love is not the eternal search of the Soul for the Divine, but mere lust. They stress the lovers' invisibility and the girl's quests. The Grimms' adaptations give Basile's story a more fairy-tale-like colour by omitting the names of some characters, toning down any sexual references, and changing the dramatis personae to more recognizably fairy-tale professions, such as ogresses to

witches. Here we will summarize and discuss the Grimms' versions of two of Basile's tales and highlight the differences.

'The Padlock', adapted by the Grimms as 'The Little Magic Box' ('Das Zauberkästchen'), a more poetic title, is the ninth tale of the second day in Basile's Boccaccio-type structure.[126] It turns Cupid into the son of a queen, and Psyche, pointedly named Luciella by Basile but nameless in the Grimms' version, into the youngest daughter of a poor woman who follows a servant to an underground palace and encounters a lover at night in the darkness. The sisters' deceit is changed from telling the youngest girl to murder her unknown husband in Apuleius to opening a magic box or padlock after hearing the truth from a witch (an ogress in Basile), but the opening still leads to the couple's separation as the girl cries out at the wondrous small ladies that emerge from the box, which wakes up her lover; the girl wanders the world until she is reunited with her lover in a royal palace that turns out to belong to his mother (echoes of Venus) after giving birth to their baby son. Her lover is freed from the curse, which has no clear origins in the Grimms' version, but is that of an ogress in Basile, put on him when all the roosters in the country are killed on order of the queen, and the queen embraces him as her long-lost son. The story is devoid of real love between the couple and focuses instead on love between mother and son (queen and prince), and father and son (prince and his and the girl's baby). The girl is passive and in despair during most of her story, which is driven to its happy ending by the actions of others.

'The Golden Trunk', the fourth tale of the fifth day and summarised as 'Der Goldene Baumstamm' by the Grimms,[127] tells the story of Parmetella (named in both versions), who chops down a tree with golden leaves and finds a passage to an underground palace underneath, where a young man (Basile specifies he is a slave; the Grimms' version is more romantic) offers her a bed. In the dark of night, unbeknown to her, he turns into a handsome young man and sleeps with her. On their second night Parmetella lights a candle to see his beauty and discovers his identity, and he abandons her angrily since he will now be cursed for seven more years. Parmetella undertakes many magical labours reminiscent of Venus' tasks and of Psyche's journey to the Underworld, on the advice of an enchantress (a fairy in Basile; the Grimms made their version more mysterious and powerful). Her lover, now named as Thunder-and-Lightning, helps her. During her last task, driven by her curiosity, she opens the box given to her

by an ogress, and again Thunder-and-Lightning (identified as an ogre too in Basile, but a mere handsome man in the Grimms' version) needs to come to her aid after telling her off for her curiosity. His mother has arranged a wedding for him with an unsuitable bride, and during the feast he kills his bride in exasperation at her loose morals, and sleeps with Parmetella instead. His horrible mother cannot prevent their love and kills herself. The violence is considerably toned down in the Grimms' version.

Praet offers a close comparison between Apuleius' and Basile's two tales.[128] Not only are the plot lines similar, but both authors also employ framing narratives, where the stories are told as oral tales to their primary female listeners: Princess Zoza in Basile (and the Grimms' adaptation), Charite in Apuleius. Both storytellers weave elements of the frame narrative into their tales: Zoza's prince is cursed to fall asleep, and the girls in both Apuleius' and Basile's stories break taboos involving their sleeping lovers. Zoza and the three girls in the tales, like Psyche, need to undergo several tests and tribulations to regain their male beloveds.

It seems clear that Basile adapted Apuleius' tale and that his adaptations were in turn adapted by the Brothers Grimm. Basile's versions are earlier and earthier than the French tales and clearly marked out as traditional fairy tales; this might explain the Grimms' reluctance to see the more literary French tales as valid origins of their own stories. The Grimms' adaptations and the availability of literary sources indicate clearly that they were aware of the tale's Latin ancestry, though their adaptation of Basile's Neapolitan fairy tales might lend a folk veneer to their endeavour. This might also explain their insistence on the folk origins of C&P stories, despite their better knowledge, as they had French and Italian sources reworking the same plot at their disposal. Their fairy tales are literary creations based on French Beauty and the Beast tales, Basile, and his predecessor Giovanni Francesco Straparola (*c.*1485–1558, thus out of the timeframe of our analysis), all of which ultimately go back to Cupid and Psyche.[129]

Basile's influence on the German Romantics stretched beyond the Brothers Grimm; as noted above, his 'Pervonto' was translated by Wieland in 1778–9, and, aware of the literary origins of at least some fairy tales, the brothers popularized the form of the *Kunstmärchen*. 'Brentano [see above on links with Herder] contends that Basile composed an essentially literary interpretation of oral folk tales, whereas the Grimms emphasize the oral nature of Basile's book.'[130] Brentano saw Basile's tales as manifestations of

Kunstmärchen, and adapted Basile: he used some of his tales in his *Italienische Märchen* ('Italian fairy tales') (written 1805–11, published 1846–7), not including the two obviously Apuleian tales but adapting 'La mortella' ('The myrtle'), which has some motifs taken from Cupid and Psyche.[131] It becomes clear that the Brothers Grimms' fairy tales and those of their contemporaries were ultimately based on written rather than oral sources, some of which ultimately go back to Apuleius' story.[132] Via Basile and the French tales, C&P was fundamental to German fairy tales and literary responses to them.

9. The Soul as Myth: Antiquarianism and Philology

A redefinition of ancient mythology with a focus on cultural identity became an intellectual pursuit in the second half of the eighteenth century—for example, with Herder, who as we have seen was also a major influence on the Grimms' antiquarianism. Herder's circle thought that reception of mythology should not be merely passively allusive and transposed into a more modern costume, but that the material should be re-energised, used as an inspiration to create 'new' myths themselves, based on German idealism and Romanticism. This innovation of a new mythology for a new time could make excellent use of C&P, because the story itself was so obviously late and a composite of earlier literary stories and philosophies, and, as they thought, of Greek rather than Roman origin.

This Romantic approach to Greek origins and antiquarianism was combined with serious classical research. The philosopher and poet Julius Graf von Soden (1754–1831),[133] in his *Psyche. Ein Mährchen in vier Büchern: ein Versuch zu Erklärung der Mythen des Alterthums* ('Psyche. A fairy tale in four books. An attempt to explain the myths of antiquity' (1801)) combines fairy tale, mystery cults and myth in his explanation of Cupid and Psyche. His treatise contains a complete translation of the text and engages with Apuleius, La Fontaine, and Kosegarten in detail. He focuses on the femininity of Psyche's character and its suitability as a metaphor for the soul, claiming for the story an underlying philosophical and mystery cult subtext that underpins much of mythology.

Several eminent classicists drove the reception of C&P in Germany throughout the whole of the nineteenth century and themselves influenced many artistic responses, since scholars and poets moved in the same circles. Apart from Herder, they include, among many others,[134] the Heidelberg professor of Classical Philology Georg Friedrich Creuzer,[135] the influential essayist Karl Philipp Moritz,[136] the Königsberg philologist Ludwig Friedländer,[137] and the philologist and friend of Goethe, Carl August Böttiger.[138] All of them studied Psyche broadly as an ancient image of the human soul, founded on early Greek mysteries and later merely adapted by Apuleius and simplified into a fairy-tale narrative. The idea that the story of Psyche is ultimately based on ancient mystery cults remained a noticeable strand in German scholarship on Apuleius' text and found its most prominent proponent in Reinhold Merkelbach's influential *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (1962), where he argues that most ancient novels are initiation texts and fairy tales bowdlerized versions of these.[139]

Moritz, a close friend of Goethe's after 1786, was influenced by Gleim, Wieland and especially August von Rode, who edited some of Moritz's works. His important study *Götterlehre* (1791; 2018) climaxes in a summary of Apuleius' *Cupid and Psyche*, noting their wedding, but ignoring Psyche's pregnancy and the birth of Voluptas. His explanation of Psyche's character echoes contemporary sensibilities: Psyche with her butterfly wings is a 'zartes geistiges Wesen', a 'tender spiritual creature' that emerges out of a rough chrysalis and, too beautiful for this world, is refined for a higher existence and wedded to Cupid. The name, Moritz explains, means butterfly and soul, and 'notions of life and death are inherent in this kind of poetry'.[140] The correspondences between poetry and philology are apparent.

Although a Platonist approach to the story's interpretation was predominant, there were variant Hellenophile interpretations of the story.[141] The classical scholar and archaeologist Otto Jahn (1813–69) was an outlier, as in 1847 and 1851 he particularly influenced scholarship by refuting the double thesis that there must have been a lost Greek original for the story, and that it was likely to derive from mysteries of Eros in Thespiae, as there was no written evidence for either of these claims.[142] Aloys Hirt (1759–1837), a Berlin classicist, who in his 1816 treatise *Die Fabel des Amor und Psyche nach Denkmälern* discussed the allegorical use of Psyche as the

immortal soul separated from its body, and as an image of the Christian soul, also worked with Queen Luise of Prussia (1776–1810) at the Berlin court on courtly spectacles; Luise in 1804 enacted the role of the bride of Alexander the Great, with young girls wearing butterfly wings surrounding her.[143] In 1818 Hirt staged the wedding ballet *Die Weihe des Eros Uranios* based on C&P and with allusions to Plato's *Symposium* for her court.[144]

This learned classicism and yearning for Greek origins for the story ensured that much contemporary poetry based on C&P involved both poets and their readerships dipping their toe into popular Platonism, which became linked with Apuleius' reception throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Germany. The erudite and enlightened Luise also employed the poet Friedrich Matthisson (1761–1831, a friend of Rode, Schiller, and Hölderlin; Beethoven set some of his poems to music) as a reader and travel companion for herself. In his poem 'Elysium' (1788) he describes, in the wake of Platonist concepts, how Psyche, a personification of the Soul, enters Elysium by herself and frees herself from mortal memories by kneeling in a flowery meadow next to the Underworld river Lethe to drink from it.[145]

Similarly important is contemporary interest in the nature of the soul,[146] and especially so among the idealists, who discussed the participation of the individual soul in an absolute soul shared by all, the *Allseele*, an earlier stage of the development of the soul that was believed to be closer to nature; mythology was believed to be the earlier *Allseele*'s expression. C&P, though written comparatively 'late' in antiquity but believed to be based on a lost earlier Greek text, allowed a flexible reading of the text, with Platonist and Christian interpretations seen as possible. Apuleius presented an intermediate step between the ancient and the more contemporary concept of the soul.

10. Epics of the Soul

A favourite way to treat Christianity, Platonism, and a focus on the immortality of the soul in both systems of thought resulted in various treatments of C&P in epic format. The amount of epic adaptations of C&P written in such a brief period is extraordinary, driven by the authors' desires

to reconstruct the ‘true’ version of the story based on philological research and inclination, and to move away from the concept of a simple and lowly fairy tale. These epics, made possible by the para-epic colouring of Apuleius’ story,[147] engage with the whole story, not merely its protagonist in idealized form, and the story is brought back to its original mythological form, for which, often enough, epic was considered the true genre. Interestingly, the focus on the female protagonist found in fairy-tale receptions remains, and the intended audience is conceived as feminine in these texts. As a result, Apuleius as the author was often sidelined in this refocusing on the imagining of a primal Greek original.

In 1804, Johann Jacob Freyherr von Lincker adapted C&P into German hexameters (*Die epische Fabel der Psyche nach dem Apulejus metrisch übersetzt*), possibly in the wake of the romantic idylls in hexameters by the Homer translator Johann Heinrich Voss (*Luise* (1782–84)) and Goethe (*Hermann und Dorothea* (1796–7)). He toned down only slightly the angry exclamations of Venus and renamed Voluptas ‘Wonne’ or ‘Delight’—that is, taking away some sexual connotations and employing the same noun Kosegarten had already used; his Venus is much more gentle than Apuleius’, despite an otherwise rather close adaptation of Apuleius’ text.[148] He dedicated his work to the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach and Grand Duchess of Russia Maria Pavlovna (1786–1859) on the event of her marriage. She was an active benefactor of the arts and sciences at her court and admired for her learned nature by Schiller and Goethe.

Quite romanticized in these terms is the epic (in genre and in length) version by the philosopher Christian Heinrich August Clodius (1772–1836)[149] in *Eros und Psyche: Ein Gedicht in zwölf Gesängen* in *ottava rima*, posthumously published in 1838. Clodius saw the story as narrative about the end of the pagan world and its replacement by the Christian one; its plot is fairy-tale-like, while also incorporating a Christianized allegorical strand: Psyche’s mother, here called Isis, eats forbidden fruit (echoing both the story of Eve in Genesis and the fairy tale of Rapunzel) in order to fall pregnant, and gives birth to three daughters.[150] While her horrible sisters become the mothers of all kinds of monsters, Psyche, who is always accompanied by a butterfly, is pursued by an angry Venus in an image that echoes Adam and Eve’s loss of paradise. Psyche is aided by the invisible Eros, who communicates with her in written form. After breaking the taboo (on her sisters’ instigation) and looking at her husband, Psyche is tortured

by Venus in ways that echo the sufferings of Christ: for example, she is flogged and crowned with a crown of thorns. In the end, the marriage between Eros and Psyche results not in happiness and the birth of a child, but the end of all pagan gods, as Kronos, the god of Time, destroys Olympus and turns its deities to stone. Psyche's soul escapes and sees her petrified body embracing Eros in an eternal kiss, in an echo of the famous Capitoline statue group (see Fig 4). Eros, the god of Love, is older than all other pagan gods and his voice remains at the end of the epic to soothe Psyche and reassure her that divine love will always be with her, even if she herself doubts it.[151]

Similarly in hexameters is the 1808 translation *Psyche*: *Ein episches Gedicht*, published anonymously in 1811, in ten cantos by Ludwig Gottlieb Carl Nauwerck (1772–1855),[152] who dedicates it to his sister (with her initials alone). He had connections with Weimar, and illustrated Goethe's *Faust*. Again, the poem is seen as an adaptation of a Greek source. He poses as an inspired poet in the wake of Homer and Vergil, asking the muse to tell him about Psyche's beauty as seen in the Roman statues based on lost Hellenistic origins of Cupid and Psyche kissing.[153] His Psyche is the daughter of the king and queen of Larissa in Thessaly, her sisters are called Astarte and Lampata, and the poem is full of epic set scenes in the imitation of Homer (e.g. Apollo is addressed as Smintheus in 2.46 echoing *Iliad* 1.39; there are gods in disguise, epic similes, *loci amoeni*, and so on) but no mention of Apuleius as its model, not even as an adapter of a lost Greek source. The story is cleaned up, and problematic elements in Psyche's character are suppressed. Her pregnancy is mentioned, though the legality of her marriage to Cupid is never in doubt. Reminiscing about his own love for his sister at the beginning of canto 5, the poet explicitly condemns the actions of the two sisters. The focus is on the emotions and relationships between the characters, and the all-encompassing power of Love. At the beginning of canto 7, for instance, the poet asks Cupid directly if he had any part in saving Psyche from drowning, raising again the important question of how much he is involved in her tasks. It is Eros who creates false dream images of Psyche, which he sends to her sisters to lure them to death (perhaps a nod to the false dream duping Agamemnon in *Iliad* 2); thus Nauwerck's real Psyche is innocent of this particular double sororicide. The child is born in wedlock and yet again named 'Wonne' and of indeterminate sex.

In 1836, Ado Schütt published *Psyche*, an epic poem in three cantos, again an attempt to turn what he saw as the transmitted ‘fairy tale’ into a worthy epic, though with the focus on the transfer of Graeco-Roman myth into German Romanticism, inspired by the landscapes of the Rhineland.[154] Yet again the audience is female; the preface appeals to German maidens and asks them to follow the singer to Crete (the location is perhaps a nod to Prasch, see above) in order to find Psyche; It is then Venus’ priestess in Paphos who takes over the song and tells the story of Psyche, full of epic similes and allusions. Again gods appear among mortals in disguise, as Venus attends as an unrecognized guest at the wedding of Psyche’s older sister. Cupid and Psyche’s wedding night is downplayed by the female narrator, and Psyche’s tasks set by Venus heroize the girl and align her to Hercules by suppressing the Apuleian tasks of sorting seeds and collecting wool, which by then had lowly fairy-tale associations.[155] This heroization of Psyche is especially intended to reduce the fairy-tale elements of the story: for example, she has to wrestle Greek women in Corinth, and heroically bring Persephone’s ‘talisman of grace’ (*Anmut*) up from Hades. Heroic as she is, Psyche does not succumb to curiosity or desire to be beautiful in the end, and her final apotheosis crowns her as a worthy mediator between the immortal human spirit and the gods.

Christian Martin Winterling (1800–84) taught modern languages at the University of Erlangen and translated, among other things, Goldsmith’s *The Vicar of Wakefield* into German. In his ‘Amor und Psyche’, the first in his *Antik-Moderne Dichtungen* (1836, in iambic octaves), which also included a poetic version of Longus in iambics, Psyche is a girl who likes to read.[156] Again, the sex of the child Wonne is indeterminate. Winterling, too, is interested in reconstructing a lost Greek myth that Apuleius had used, which he combines with an allegorical Platonist approach in seeing a veiled discussion of the Soul’s immortality.

An interesting scholarly approach is offered by the teacher and philologist Johann Christian Elster (1792–1854),[157] whose posthumously published *Die Fabel von Amor und Psyche nach Appuleius lateinisch und deutsch metrisch bearbeitet* (1854) presented the text in both Latin and German hexameters in order to restore the story to its (in his view) original Greek epic form. Consequently, he omitted anything comic or fairy-tale-like in his versions, and added further mythological material—for example, his Pan tells Psyche the story of Endymion, a Romantic favourite, and Elster

also introduced the role of Mercury as *psychopompos* (escorter of souls) when Psyche descends into the Underworld[158] instead of Apuleius' frivolous talking tower. His version, too, attempts to free the story from later embellishments and reconstruct its 'original version'. His main focus is on Psyche's descent into the Underworld (366 out of his 1,721 hexameters).

These long works engage with the story as a whole but nevertheless remain indebted to Romantic ideas of the nature of the soul, the role of the feminine, and surround the 'schöne Seele' with an ennobled Grecian plot. While some embrace and integrate fairy-tale elements, most epic authors suppress them in an attempt to return to a mythical and epic Greek *Ur*-Cupid-and-Psyche.

11. Goethe's 'Beautiful Souls': *Schöne Seelen*

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1748–1832) was an avid reader of Greek and Roman poetry.[159] Although his work prioritizes the Greek classics[160], his *Roman Elegies* (1788–1790) inspired by the elegies of Propertius and Ovid are rightly famous. His very early poems were written under Anacreontic influence (for a 1772 poem 'An Psyche' see above), but he soon found his own voice and a preference for Homer, the Greek tragedians, and Vergil. An avid reader of the Greek novels, Goethe owned prints of Raphael's frescoes of the Loggia di Psyche at the Villa Farnesina in Rome (see Chapter 1, Section 4 and, for an image, Fig. 2) and he had known of the myth of C&P since at least 1780, as he was also one of the first to encounter Rode's influential translation when it was read out at the court of Anna Amalia, the duchess of Sachsen-Weimar.[161] Goethe was so taken by the story that he planned to have his Weimar residence decorated with images from the story (by Johann Heinrich Meyer). He owned the 1594 Apuleius edition by Causaubon, and borrowed Rode's translation in 1826. He read the novel on 15 August 1831 for certain.[162]

Furthermore, like many of his contemporaries, Goethe was engaged in the contemplation of the nature of the soul. As we have seen, Psyche allows the combination of Platonic–pagan and Christian thought—Psyche could represent humanity as well as the soul in search of the divine. In a letter to

his admired Charlotte von Stein in July 1776, Goethe toys with Platonism, the immortality of the soul (a favourite topic throughout most of his life), and metempsychosis, claiming that in a previous life she was either his sister or his wife. He also procured a gemstone of a winged Psyche as a present for her, as he tells us in his letter to his 'beloved Soul' (an allusion to the translation of Psyche) from 1 October 1781. He also shares the contemporary interest in plastic representations of Cupid and Psyche in stone as both allegories and symbols that move our most precious emotions: 'Die bekannte Gruppe von Amor und Psyche ist Allegorie und Symbol zugleich. Schwerlich ist jemals in eines Menschen Geist etwas Lieblicheres und Zarteres aufgestiegen' ('the well-known group of Cupid and Psyche [i.e. the Capitoline statue; see Fig. 4] is at once allegory and symbol. Hardly ever has there arisen within mankind's spirit anything more lovely and tender').[163]

There is evidence of Goethe's engagement with Apuleius in his novels, too. His early work (written before Rode's translation) *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1779), an epistolary novel about the doomed love of the Homer-and-'Ossian'-loving Werther for Lotte who is engaged to someone else and which ends in Werther's suicide, features a scene where Werther reads a fairy tale to Lotte's younger siblings (1st part, 15 August). The fairy tale of 'a princess waited upon by hands' ('Prinzessin, die von Händen bedient wird') may be a reflection of Beaumont's fairy tale with its invisible servants, or perhaps even of Apuleius' story itself. Werther also believes that Lotte and he are related souls (*Seelenverwandte*), whose spirits will find one another in a next life (10 September), tapping into contemporary ideas of the transmigration of the soul.

More clearly dependent on Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and *C&P* are however Goethe's masterly *Bildungsroman Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795/96, 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship'), and its sequel *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (conceived in the 1790s, published in 1821 and heavily revised in 1829, 'Wilhelm Meister's Journeyman Years').[164] The *Lehrjahre* appears to be inspired by Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in both its plot outline and the conception of its main characters. A rather naïve yet highly educated young protagonist travels and hears several inset tales which echo and reflect upon his own life while growing in character and learning his place in society.[165] Both novels end with an initiation, that of Lucius into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, and that of Wilhelm into the

Turmgesellschaft/'Society of the Tower' (7.9, through darkness into the light), which itself shares some elements of Egyptian mysteries. Magic and curiosity play important roles in both plots, and both novels feature theatricality as a leitmotif.[166] An inset tale about a 'beautiful soul' is placed roughly at the centre of both: Goethe's book 6 (out of nine altogether) is 'Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele'/'Confessions of a beautiful soul'. This inset tale is the story of the aunt of Natalie, the girl who will become Wilhelm's soulmate. The aunt is physically frail and focuses throughout her life on her spiritual nature, from hearing fairy tales when bedridden at eight years old, to having lively conversations with God, whom she frequently calls her 'invisible friend'. The *schöne Seele* is the oldest(!) of three sisters, and courted by several young men over the times, all of whom she rebuffs in favour of her invisible friend (God as Cupid). She turns to the beliefs of the Moravian Church and Pietism.

The story functions as a *mise en abyme* of Wilhelm's own progression, as a feminine mirror development of and a passive and contemplative counterimage to Wilhelm's active maturation. Mirroring literary references in main and inset tales in the novel is one of Goethe's creative principles at the time, and one of the concepts he would have found and admired in Apuleius' use of *Cupid and Psyche*, too.[167] Natalie in 8.10 becomes a *schöne Seele* herself, so that the inset tale and the frame narrative in their respective developments become as intertwined as in Apuleius, where Psyche reflects and echoes the choices and development of Lucius.[168]

Furthermore, the mysterious young girl Mignon, Wilhelm's protégée and, among other symbolisms, a representation of the contemporary German longing for Italy,[169] reflects events of the 'Bekenntnisse': in 8.2 she is dressed up in Natalie's play in a white dress and golden angel wings, and her song deals with the immortality of the soul.[170] In 'Bekenntnisse', the aunt dreams of adventures with a little angel, who looked after her clothed in a white dress and with golden wings.[171] The crucial moment in Mignon's story is a knowing inversion of *Cupid and Psyche*. She decides to visit Wilhelm in his bed at night in the dark, like Apuleius' Cupid, only to find another rival has beaten her and got there first (5.12). Wilhelm does not recognise the woman he sleeps with, and she is only very much later revealed to him and the readers as the actress Philine. The scene does not lead to eternal love: Wilhelm rather develops a loathing for Philine's

flippant nature, while Mignon after her death receives a moving funeral staged as a ‘marriage to death’, mourned by everyone.

The *Wanderjahre* is a loosely connected sequel with prominent inset tales, the longest of which is *Ein Herr von funfzig Jahren (‘A Fifty-Year Old Gentleman’)*. It features the young Hilarie who first falls in love with her uncle and then with his son Flavio, her cousin. The uncle, similarly enamoured with Hilarie, is characterised by his love and imitation of Horace and Ovid (2.4). It is only after Flavio in a crazed state ‘like Orestes’ (2.5) comes to her and her mother’s house one night and is placed to rest in a bed, that Hilarie begins to fall in love with her future husband, as she holds a candle over the sleeping Flavio and observes the beauty of his body in a description echoing that of Apuleius’ sleeping Cupid. Finally, she carries the candle close to him ‘wie Psyche in Gefahr, die heilsamste Ruhe zu stören’ (‘like Psyche, in danger of disturbing the most salutary rest’), i.e. of burning the sleeping man, her mother and the doctor move her outside. Goethe makes clear that father and son resemble each other closely, thus offering another version of the doubling motif of the image of Love that is so often associated with different aspects of love in this period, as seen in the discussion of Wieland’s ‘Bruckstücke’ above, and which itself may echo Psyche’s conjectural claims to her sisters about her husband’s identity as first a young and then a middle-aged man (*Met.* 5.8 and 5.15).[172] Furthermore, Hilarie’s gazing at her lover intratextually echoes and corrects Mignon’s attempt to visit Wilhelm at night, a use across two novels of the same key scene from C&P.[173] Finally, it is up to the kind woman Makarie, taking the role of Jupiter in Apuleius, to solve the amorous entanglements successfully at the story’s close.

It is clear that Goethe not only used the image of the beautiful soul for his characters, but was also inspired by Apuleius’ novel and its inset tale for the structure and plot lines of his own novels. This also anticipates the early nineteenth century turn away in Germany from epic retellings of C&P to novelistic versions that became increasingly popular.

12. Coming Full Circle: Psyche Novels

Long verse epics soon fell out of fashion, and more and more the novel, already discussed in connection with Goethe, became the literary mass medium of choice, making the Roman novelist Apuleius a natural model for his nineteenth-century counterparts.[174] The important Romantic poet and friend of Goethe and the Brothers Grimm Achim von Arnim (1781–1831) worked together with his future brother-in-law Clemens Brentano on their celebrated anthology of poems, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (‘The Boy’s Magic Horn’ (1805–8)) in Heidelberg, where they met other prominent German Romantics and the Classicist J. H. Voss first as friends and then as enemies.[175] In 1823, von Arnim published *Raphael und seine Nachbarinnen* (‘Raphael and his Female Neighbours’), a novella based on the life of Raphael, the painter of the Farnesina frescoes (see above), which uses C&P as the novel’s structural framework for characters as well as a metaphor for the artist’s soul, inspiration, and creativity, while adding another interesting example of doubling.[176] Raphael’s long-term aide recalls the two young neighbours who become Raphael’s contrasting yet interchanging Muses. Psyche’s lamp burning Cupid is the recurring leitmotif in the story. Chapter 1, ‘On Raphael’s Psyche’, recalls Raphael’s youth in Urbino, when he is in love with Benedetta, who lives next door and decorates her father’s ceramics. For three nights, secretly Raphael paints her plates for her. The first time he does this, he mistakes a marble statue, possibly of Psyche, waiting to be burnt for lime in the shared court, for Benedetta, whom he then paints on the plates as Psyche. Benedetta, ignorant of who is helping her, assumes it might be an angel. The experienced and worldly-wise next-door neighbour Ghita, a baker’s daughter whom Raphael associates with Psyche’s ‘unreinen Schwestern’ (‘impure sisters’), persuades Benedetta one night to surprise the ‘angel’ alongside her, carrying a lamp and a sword, in order to satiate their (rather Apuleian) curiosity (‘zur Befriedigung ihrer Neugierde’). Raphael is recognized but barely escapes. Just as Venus sends Cupid away (‘nun schickte ihn Venus in die Fremde’), his parents decide it is time for Raphael to move to Perugia. Raphael now feels as if his heart were burning in pain like the place where Psyche’s sputtering lamp had hurt Cupid. Benedetta’s father rewards him for his work with sweets from Ghita’s father’s store for his now revealed work on the ceramics, and Raphael begins to associate Ghita’s earthy sexuality with reward for his art.

In Chapter 2, ‘On Raphael’s Madonnas’, Raphael wishes to give Benedetta a ring before leaving, but the ring accidentally ends up on the statue’s finger instead. As the statue is also draped with Benedetta’s cloak in Marian colours (blue and red), this is a mystic union of Raphael and his Psyche/Muse, and Benedetta takes the ring off its finger. The narrator notes that Raphael’s later depictions of the Virgin are based on his memory of the Psyche statue and Benedetta. Raphael also finds himself attracted to Ghita, the sensual part of his inspiration and art, and starts an affair with her years later. She has an ape-like creature (who later turns out to be human, a German painter from Nuremberg) living with her and becomes the model for his voluptuous pagan goddesses. Raphael claims her beast to be the painter of what seems to be the Wedding of Cupid and Psyche in the Farnesina.[177] It is clear that the beast is the other part of Raphael’s artistic identity. Over the years, Ghita bears two children to Raphael but keeps them secret from him.

The third chapter, ‘On Raphael’s Transfiguration’—that is, his last painting—brings both spheres of Raphael’s life together. Just as the painting consists of two contrasting levels but needs both of these to work, so Raphael’s character, the beast and the innocent youth, and his two contrasting muses need to have elements of both in order to create sublime art. The Psyche/Muse statue is painted as the mysterious figure at the centre of the lower level of the picture, holding it together, portrayed with her outstretched finger that had caught Raphael’s ring. Taken into the Church of the Sisters of Mercy, he sees a marble statue clad in blue, which reminds him of the Psyche/Muse statue of his youth; the religious pictures in Raphael’s style on the church walls turn out to be by Benedetta. The art inspires him finally to start on his masterworks, the Transfiguration and the Sistine Madonna based on his memories of Benedetta and the Psyche statue. He declares he needs both heaven and earth, Benedetta and Ghita, as an artist. The so-called ape reveals himself as the German painter of some of Raphael’s paintings and Ghita’s German husband, whose deformation was caused when his mother put him into the oven for warmth and burnt him. Raphael’s artistic identity consists of all these facets,[178] and the symbolism of burning fire, like Psyche’s lamp, holds them together. Later, Raphael meets his hitherto unknown two sons and paints them as the angels of the Sistine Madonna—Benedetta had raised them for Ghita. When she and Raphael finally meet again, she is recognized by his ring on her finger

and explains that the statue in the church is indeed his Psyche/Muse, the paintings her own in his style. Before he can marry Benedetta, he breaks down with burning-hot fever-dreams of Christ's passion, his hair turns white, and he dies while trying to finish the Transfiguration.

Raphael is here characterized as Cupid burnt at the beginning and end of his artistic development by the lamp carried by Psyche and (unApuleianly) her sister, Benedetta and Ghita. The statue of Psyche/Muse escapes death in the flames. The doubling of Cupid's character seen in some previous German receptions—for example, Wieland—may have helped von Arnim to create this unusual concept of doubling both Psyche (and her sister) as his soul and inspiration, and Raphael (the divinely inspired artist and the beast). Raphael, who paints both pure saints and earthly voluptuous bodies, needs both women.

Another important member of this circle is Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859), Brentano's sister and Achim's wife, granddaughter of Sophie von La Roche (above) and well connected with writers in the period, including Jacobi, Herder, and Goethe. Bettina was fascinated with mythology, perhaps triggered by reading K. P. Moritz's *Götterlehre* at an early age.[179] In the same year her husband's Raphael-novel was published, she designed a memorial for Goethe.[180] He is seated majestically like Zeus, with a childlike Psyche at his knees who bears Bettina's own features, grasping for Goethe's lyre.[181] Among some reliefs on Goethe's throne, there is an image of Mignon. In her reading of his novel, Bettina also identifies herself with Mignon, and Goethe with Wilhelm Meister.[182]

In 1835, she also published the fictionalized exchange of letters between herself and her idol Goethe (and initially his mother), mostly adapted from correspondence between 1807 and early 1811 and her fictionalized diary, in *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*. *Seinem Denkmal* ('Goethe's Correspondence with a Child: On Behalf of his Memorial'), to great and public success and critical controversy.[183] Its sale was intended to raise money to erect the Goethe memorial she had designed, and reflects her adoration of and passion for Goethe, especially in the last of its three parts, the diary-style *Buch der Liebe*, which covers her emotional experiences from her mid-teens to the years after Goethe's death, at times set against the Napoleonic wars with their often direct impact on her family.[184] It reflects

how, alongside her enthusiastic love for Goethe, she grows into a deeply passionate and sensitive writer because of it.

Bettina sees herself as a childlike Psyche who looks up to Goethe's divine nature for inspiration and affirmation as artist through love, both in the monument and in the *Briefwechsel*, as she explains herself after Goethe's death. She compares herself to a blooming red rose who merely reflects the light and beauty of Eros, whose light shines through her,[185] and returns to the image of Psyche burning her beloved with her lamp, especially after Goethe's death, to come to terms with her alienation from Goethe after 1811,[186] which she describes in echoes of Psyche hanging on to Cupid's feet when he flees.[187]

Her lifelong identification with Psyche is explained by herself as derived from a semi-mystic eroticized initiation when she was a teenager at her grandmother's house. There the visiting Herder called her Psyche and kissed her, first without and then with permission, as he singled her out among her sisters. He grabs the blue bow on her white dress (images of innocence) like a butterfly wing, Bettina narrates, and releases her back into freedom only in return for a kiss. At first, she claims, she does not know what 'Psyche' means, which, given her knowledge of mythology, does not entirely ring true; but in time she realizes that this was her initiation into love and art.[188] Consequently, for Bettina von Arnim, the recurring Psyche motifs in her book are linked to the idea of mystic or spiritual union between lovers that echoes her own fascination over the years with Goethe, who both forms and is formed by the 'child's' artistic presence.[189] Bettina herself was 22 in 1807 when the correspondence starts and when she met Goethe for the very first time, hardly a child. Yet, her self-stylization as *Kind* or 'child' puts her on the level of her childlike Psyche, in the wake of portraits of Psyche as a child on the Marlborough gem or Roman sarcophagi. At the same time, she follows this through in the design of her monument for Goethe, where Goethe becomes the unreachable Cupid who supports her, yet is hardly ever visible to her (they are travelling in different parts of Germany during their exchange of letters and only met briefly), but always beloved. References to Psyche are therefore found throughout the correspondence that conform with contemporary Romantic imagery—for example, both correspondents imagining the soul of the deceased as a (reborn) butterfly able to meet the other despite their physical distance;[190]

when Bettina meets the now elderly and frail Anacreontic Jacobi (see Section 5 above), she calls him a ‘tender Psyche’ who was woken too early and on whom she herself bestows the crown of immortality, no doubt playing therefore with Jacobi’s own poems about Psyche, death, and immortality.[191]

Ernst von Brunnow (1796–1845), brother of the more famous Russian diplomat Phillipp Graf von Brunnow, of Kurland nobility and based in Dresden, wrote several poems and novels, among them in 1837 *Die neue Psyche* (‘The New Psyche’), an artist’s novel.[192] Unfortunately it is little known today, but represents many of the German approaches to C&P laid out in this chapter. It is explicitly based on academic research, which leads Brunnow to believe that the origins of the story are Greek, archaic, and based on mystery cults, and Apuleius’ version is an inadequate and late adaptation into a fairy tale by a writer of dubious style and origins. The ideology of the *schöne Seele* looms large, and the metaphor of the butterfly in its double nature as the Soul’s immortality, and an image of death, relevant in Germany since the Anacreontics and Herder, is unambiguously thematized, here leading to a doubling of the pair of lovers and of the inset tale itself.[193] Both art and, more especially, poetry are needed to adapt the story adequately into a German context.[194] The story of C&P is prominently inserted into the novel itself and shown to reflect its protagonists’ own experiences. Longing for Italy motivates one of them, who is deeply moved by Raphael’s Farnesina Psyche. Initially planned as a verse epic (see below), it then became a prose novel, following the literary developments of its time. It suppresses or problematizes the killing of the sisters and Psyche’s pregnancy but discusses its reasons openly.

In his preface, Brunnow locates the origins of the story in Greece, cites especially Herder and Creuzer as his scholarly inspiration, and places himself within its literary reception. At first, Brunnow intended to write a verse epic like Ernst Schulze (note that Schütt’s was published in the same year), but, like Wieland, gave up. Instead, he decided to integrate the *Göttersage* (‘myth’ (p. iv)) into a modern novel in twenty *Schilderungen* (‘descriptions’, each beginning with a poem), with not one, but two couples that contrast with and reflect each other, with his focus always on the portrait of their souls. The preface steers the reader towards Brunnow’s desired interpretation of his work, and classifies the novel as a work of art itself reflecting on other works of art and the very nature of art.

The novel is set against the background of the Napoleonic wars. Arthur, a sensitive poet, and the passionate painter Oskar, closest of friends, spot on a springtime walk a mourning-cloak butterfly (*nymphalis antiopa*), which for Oskar is a sign of death and loss, and for Arthur a sign of the immortality of the soul. This kind of doubling of contemporary Psyche associations makes Oskar recall his Italian journey and lost love for Giulietta, a Psyche-figure with two sisters, whom he left after catching her *in flagrante delicto*, he thinks, stealing his wallet. A flashback (the first inset tale) fills in their backstory. Arthur was in unrequited love with the gentle Angelika, who has lost her fiancé in the Battle of Brienne (1814), and who is Psyche-like in her angelic and ethereal nature. Oskar, full of *Italiensehnsucht*, travelled to Italy, where he was greatly enthused by Raphael's Farnesina paintings of Psyche and had a vision of her coming down to join him (5th *Schilderung*). While painting in Tivoli under a pseudonym, he met Giulietta, a duplicate of Raphael's Psyche (echoes of von Arnim, see above); the two were attracted by each other's beauty, and she posed for him (6th *Schilderung*) and introduced him to her family. They fell in love, and her Psyche-like curiosity was her only negative trait. Oskar explicitly kept his identity secret, inspired by Cupid's self-concealment from Psyche. Her sisters were jealous and agitated against Oskar, who observed the uncanny similarities of this to the plot of C&P. During a family dinner, Oskar fell asleep, possibly drugged, and woke up in pain, with Giulietta kneeling before him, having taken his wallet and hurt him with his own dagger(!). He fled and, on returning to retrieve the contents of his wallet, was trapped by robbers and fainted. When he woke up, he found himself in police custody and was put on trial, similarly to Lucius in the Risus episode, for being a traitor (8th *Schilderung*). Days later, he was released and fled back to Germany.

Meanwhile, Arthur has become a poet and scientist in Germany, longing for the mourning Angelika. When Oskar returns, both young men are invited to join Angelika and her father at his residence to paint and write, the situation of the novel's beginning. Angelika's father has a collection of art, including a statue group of Cupid and Psyche (11th *Schilderung*).[195] Angelika persuades Arthur, who had been thinking about turning the story into an epic, to translate Apuleius' text for her, while Oskar will teach her painting. Arthur begins to see Angelika as his own Psyche and inspiration (12th *Schilderung*). They are *Seelenverwandte*, 'related souls', entirely in

tune with each other (see above on Goethe's use of the phrase), and they are unsure whether it is fraternal or erotic love, especially as Angelika grows close to Oskar, who resembles her deceased fiancé. Angelica is also friends with an Italian-speaking friend, Clara/Clärchen, who is, of course, Giulietta come north to look for her lost painter. Fearing losing Angelika to Oskar, Arthur displays some Lucius-like characteristics, too, when he admonishes himself not to worship the false image of Isis but to assess his situation correctly (16th *Schilderung*; the novel also features a cheerful pastor called Lucius). Arthur precedes his performance of his own prose translation of the C&P story with a lecture in front of the C&P statue and all the protagonists (17th *Schilderung*); his lecture on Greek religion (just like his move from verse epic to prose) reflects Brunnow's own beliefs in early Greek mystery cult origins for the story (1837: 184), thus turning his own version into a mise en abyme (the second inset tale).

In the lecture Arthur calls Apuleius' version a 'ziemlich buntfarbenes Mährchen' ('a rather colourful fairy tale' (1837: 184)) that does not quite hide the truth of the ancient story about the Soul and its Immortality; the butterfly image is found, he teaches, on tombs (echoes of Moritz and Herder), Psyche images reflect both the Soul and Immortality. Cupid, or rather Eros, is the love for all that exists, and their story that of the love of the Soul for the Divine, a love that is complete only if the Soul does not indulge its curiosity about the nature of the Divine but follows its instructions without questions. Psyche's sufferings and quest are the purifying search for divine love in desire for union, until the god takes pity and bestows immortality on her. The story's meaning and its presentation as fairy tale, he concludes, are like the intertwined image of the body and the soul, and a poet enjoys both of its aspects.

Consequently, Arthur's fairly close translation (17th *Schilderung*) is embellished to reflect both his (and Brunnow's own, another doubling) views and the presence of ladies among the internal audience: he names the older sisters Soma and Hedone, 'Body' and 'Pleasure' in Greek: Body and Soul may echo the contrast between them set out in Plato's *Phaedo*, the dialogue on the immortality of the soul, which discusses the separation of the soul from the body (and hence from pleasure and pain—e.g. 81b–82c), an allegorical reading of the sisters already encountered in Fulgentius, who identifies them with Flesh and Free Will, and Boccaccio, who identifies them with the tripartite soul, respectively.[196] Cupid does not visit Psyche in

her bedchamber, but the next morning chastely kisses her as her invisible fiancé. Consequently, there is no pregnancy, and the taboo is changed accordingly: not to enter a cave near the lake surrounded by cypresses. This turns out to be Cupid's lonely bedroom, where Psyche, urged on by her sisters, surprises him and burns him with her lamp. He threatens to take revenge on her sisters and leaves her. Psyche deals with her sisters as she does in Apuleius, but crucially 'under Cupid's inspiration' (1837: 210). Psyche is less passive and enquires from Apollo's oracle where she might find Venus, and sails to Paphos to surrender herself to her.

In a lengthy discussion that follows about the 'meaning of the myth', Arthur's adaptations are criticized by Angelika's knowledgeable father, but Arthur explains them by having to tone down Apuleius' sensuous 'African nature' and late Roman lack of taste,[197] and having to accommodate Angelika's sensitivities. His version is declared the better for it, but Oskar is inflamed by Psyche's curiosity, which makes him recall his own experiences again (18th *Schilderung*), which he narrates to Angelika, who recognizes him as her friend Clärchen/Giulietta's lover and rushes to reunite them and solve all misunderstandings: it was Giulietta's jealous sisters(!) who had denounced Oskar as a political traitor to her and urged her to look at his dagger's inscription for proof, but when her curiosity made her look at it while he was asleep, its inscription reads 'Giulietta sempre mia' ('Giulietta, forever mine') instead of a political slogan. She dropped the dagger and inadvertently wounded Oskar, who woke up, and, thinking she had intended to kill him, banishes her from his life. Her father then betrayed him to the Italian police, who arrested him. So Giulietta made the arduous journey to Germany to find her fugitive lover, where now Angelika dramatically reunites her with Oskar, but not before Giulietta faints on seeing him, echoing Psyche's deathlike sleep (*Met*. 6.21), and Oskar kisses her awake again. The German painter's Italian soul is declared 'die neue Psyche', and Angelika as an angel of heaven replaces angry Venus in their story. In the end, both couples are united in marriage.

Finally, Apuleius' story could even become a source of social analysis and criticism. The Baltic–German Biedermeier novelist Alexander von Ungern-Sternberg (1806–69), better known for his fairy tales (*Braune Märchen* (1850)), conceived his *Psyche* as a *Zeitroman*—that is, a novel focusing on analysing his own contemporary times. Published in two volumes in 1838,[198] it deals with adultery and the contemporary change in

gender roles and is based around an image of a statue of a childlike Psyche holding the lamp over the sleeping Cupid, with which it begins and ends, commissioned to celebrate the daughter of the house, who was found in this position when 4 years old. At the time the novel is set, she is 19 and married, when the finished statue finally arrives. A priest, asked to unveil the statue in the presence of a group of guests, stresses how it symbolizes marital fidelity and female submission. 'Psyche', married to someone else now, meets again her old friend with whom she was portrayed in child form in the statue. The climax of the story is a night-time visit to her by her beloved old friend instead of her husband, but she prevents adultery from taking place because she carries a lamp and recognizes him. When the statue is once again displayed, 'Psyche' collapses, deathlike, in front of it. After regaining consciousness and strength, she initiates a divorce from her husband.[199]

These texts establish the novel as a model of choice for the reception of Apuleius in a period when the novel becomes the predominant literary genre.[200] Apuleius' story is adaptable, as it can be plot-driven or character-focused, leaving enough space for further development. Academic research into the story's supposed Greek origins often underpins (and at times even features in) the novel plots. But, besides the scholarship and research that add force to these epics and novels, a substratum of popular entertainment based on Cupid and Psyche was available for wider public: drama.

13. Drama and Opera

Dramatic adaptations of C&P are less popular in the Germany of this time than in seventeenth-century France (see Chapter 2). Still, the period sees several comic and serious dramatizations of the story, covering the whole spectrum of theatrical genres.[201] Some French adaptations were performed in German theatres first—for example, the ballet d'action *Psyché et l'Amour* (1762, with music by Jean-Joseph Rodolphe), by Jean-Georges Noverre (1727–1810), had its first performance in Stuttgart's Hoftheater (under the reign of Charles Eugene, duke of Württemberg).[202] *Psyche: Singspiel in zwei Aufzügen* (Berlin, 1789), by Karl Friedrich Müchler (1763–1857), with music by Carl Bernhard Wessely (1768–1826),[203]

features as its frontispiece the portrait of the singer Friederike Auguste Conradine von Unzelmann née Flittner (1760–1815), who was then active at the Berliner Hoftheater and will have taken the main role in this somewhat farcical drama. The plot is allusive, and it may have helped the audience to have known the Apuleian plot, possibly via reading Rode's translation. It features, apart from Psyche, her father King Nicetas and her sisters Klymene and Kalippe, plus their hard-drinking, happy-go-lucky servant Simmias. Just as in the French dramatizations, Apuleius' anonymous minor characters are given names, a necessity of staging the plot and of characterization; the nobler characters, for example, have Greek aristocratic names. While Psyche is brave throughout, Cupid is mischievous and frivolous and happily lies to his mother; his flirtatious duet with her on whether he should kiss her or not ends the third scene. Then the sisters appear full of jealousy after some time has passed, and find out from their *servus currens* Simmias (his name and role both echo Plautine comedy—namely, the famous *Pseudolus*) what he has heard from court gossip and from eavesdropping on Psyche complaining about her husband's invisibility.

The next scene, after another leap in time, shows Psyche planning to discover her husband's identity. Her ensuing conversation with Cupid, who is disguised as a 'genius', a *Schutzgeist* or 'guardian spirit', and carries a torch (a metaphor for erotic love in Roman art), allows their married life to be presented on stage, ending in a mutual declaration of love (without Psyche realizing that her genius is her husband), which is overheard by her sisters, but Cupid has left before they enter. The sisters and Simmias persuade Psyche to murder her husband. The second act sees Psyche making up her mind but realizing that her husband is Cupid, and as she kisses him he wakes up (no burning in this play) and leaves her unwillingly, as she has broken her oath and Necessity (*Nothwendigkeit*) has forced them to separate. Alone, she flees with her sisters and the bibulous Simmias before Cupid's palace collapses around them, just as it had in some of the French versions—for example, in Thomas Corneille's 1678 *tragédie lyrique* (see Chapter 2). Meanwhile, Cupid fruitlessly tries to charm his irate mother into letting Psyche live, and Psyche's begging of Venus for forgiveness also falls on deaf ears. Psyche's suicide attempts are prevented by the priest of Neptune, who sends her into the Underworld (with close echoes in a prose passage (1789: 710) of the Tower's advice to Psyche

(*Met*. 6.17–19)). On her way back from there, Psyche visits her family, and the sisters quarrel about which of them should open Proserpina's box. But Cupid appears in time, reveals that Psyche is forgiven and will become his wife, and admonishes the sisters fiercely. The *Singspiel* ends in a wedding feast where everyone is involved.[204]

A more famous *Singspiel* with Apuleian (as well as masonic) references is *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute* (1791)) of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91). Emanuel Schikaneder's libretto is heavily influenced by Apuleius, and many adaptations of Apuleius.[205] Most allusions are to the novel's Isiac ending, as the widowed Queen of the Night with her star-flaming gown and throne ('sternflammende Königin' ('star flaming queen')) resembles both the Moon Goddess Lucius invokes in *Met*. 11.2 and Isis who answers him, although her search for her lost daughter might rather recall that of Demeter (whom Isis herself claims to be, among other goddesses (*Met*. 11.5)) for Persephone. The hero and heroine Tamino and Pamina are initiated into the mysteries of Isis at the end of the *Singspiel* with the help of Egyptian priests ('Oh Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne' 'Oh Isis and Osiris, what delight') in a descent to the Underworld sequence ('Der welcher wandert' ('He who wanders')), which recalls both Lucius' mystery initiations (*Met*. 11.23) and Psyche's katabasis (*Met*. 6.18–19), which anticipates them.[206] The arias of the Queen of the Night are reminiscent of Venus' rants: *Met*. 4.30 on her cosmogonic majesty just before she points out Psyche to Cupid anticipates the setting of Mozart's first aria, sung by the Queen seated on a throne of stars: 'Oh zittre nicht, mein lieber Sohn' ('O do not tremble, my beloved son'), just after she had arranged for a picture of the beautiful Pamina to be shown to Tamino. *Met*. 5.30 about her child's ingratitude corresponds with 'Der Hölle Rache' ('The vengeance of Hell'), where the Queen excoriates her daughter for her lack of obedience. C&P can also be found in the *Singspiel*'s comic side. For example, Papageno's introductory song as bird catcher may be based on a Pompeian image of an old woman selling winged erotes to women, seen by Goethe in Italy in 1787. Images of Psyche held by her wings on ancient gems were popular in the period, and Goethe's 1796 poem 'Die Liebesgötter auf dem Markte' describes a scene of encaged Loves for sale.[207]

Much more earthy than these magical *Singspiele* is the caricature operetta 'Amor und Psyche. Eine mythologische Karrikatur in

Knittelreimen mit Gesang in zwey Acten' ('A Mythological Caricature in Two Acts in Knittelvers with Songs') by Carl Meisl (1775–1853), with music by Ferdinand Kauer.[208] This Viennese author places lofty divine events in a rather low-life environment; in the first scene Jupiter plays bowls in a tavern, for example, and all the gods are driven by rather base emotions. Psyche is a vain girl who dances in front of her mirror and takes the initiative in forming the relationship with Cupid. After extended comic Underworld scenes, the play ends in a 'modern marriage', where divorce is likely (Meisl 1820: 56), as Jupiter prophesies.

At the other end of the spectrum[209] is the Austrian tragedian Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872). Inspired by Goethe, the young man drafted between 1808 and 1815 several extremely short dramatic fragments, including some for a *Friedensoper* ('Peace Opera') planned between 1809 and 1812, which he renamed frequently. The planned names include 'Psyche' and 'Szylla'.[210] What remains of 'Psyche' is the first scene of the first act, a monologue by Psyche who lives still at her father's house and for whom nature seems to flourish magically. She describes the fate of Leda with her swan (an anticipation of her own love with a god in disguise?) and longs for new emotions and experiences.[211]

Similarly serious is the lyric drama *Amor und Psyche. Ein lyrisches Drama in vier Akten. Den schönen Vereinen edler, deutscher Frauen und Jungfrauen huldigend geweihet* (Rudolstadt, 1816) ('dedicated in homage to the fair unions of noble German women and maidens') by Carl Friedrich Werlich (1772–1833). The much more serious genre pares down the *dramatis personae* and focuses on the protagonist's noble inner feelings and motivations. Its treatment of the story is sugar-sweet and concentrates on female characters without any real peril.[212] It replaces Apollo with Themis and the little bird who informs Venus of Cupid's affair with a personified Fama, and the sisters are genuinely concerned for Psyche's well-being; Pan's scene is expanded considerably, as he gently persuades the distraught girl that Amor will return to her in the end, as his whole nature is love. Venus, greatly upset with Cupid for dallying with a mortal girl, sets the same tasks for Psyche as in Apuleius, but their dangerousness is deliberately toned down; Zephyr, Sleep, and the gods of love assist Psyche through the Underworld, and a lengthy scene with Proserpina shows female sisterhood in action. Psyche opens the box, not out of curiosity, but of

selfless desire to be always alive and beautiful for Cupid's sake by removing the obstacle of her own mortality. After Cupid reanimates her, she is welcomed to divine immortality on Olympus by a chorus of all the gods, though Venus remains conspicuously absent. The lavish script requires several choruses of maidens, love gods, lovers, and the damned, as well as of shepherds and shepherdesses.

Even though dramatic and musical adaptations are not the German genre of choice, some motifs from C&P even made their way into the Romantic operas of Richard Wagner (1813–83): *Die Feen* (1833–4), *Der fliegende Holländer* (1843), and *Lohengrin* (started in 1843, first performed 1850) all feature the love between a mortal and a supernatural being. In two of them the immortal creature gives the mortal the impossible injunction not to enquire about his or her real identity. In *The Fairies* the gender roles are inverted, as the immortal is the female half-fairy Ada whose beloved is forbidden to find out her name, but the happy ending is similar in the sense that her husband and the father of her children is made immortal.

Closest in both fairy-tale motifs and the naming taboo is *Lohengrin* (1850), which Wagner primarily based on the mediaeval epic *Parzifal* by Wolfram von Eschenbach (*c*.1160–1220): the innocent Christian noble lady Elsa of Brabant has been accused of murder to gain the Duchy, and an ordeal by combat is decreed to clear her name. No one stands up for her, until after Elsa's prayer a mysterious knight in a boat drawn by swans appears as her champion, promising to protect her people and marry her, as long as she never asks for his name and where he is from ('Nie sollst du mich befragen'). In two attempts, a pair of pagan enemies (husband and wife, not sisters), however, sow doubt in the somewhat trusting and naive Elsa's mind about her husband's nature and urge her to ask for his name, which Elsa refuses twice, like Psyche, but seeing his face is replaced with knowing his name (a change that makes the scene easier to stage in the opera).[213] In their wedding chamber, Elsa finally asks the knight three fateful questions about his identity, even though he tries to prevent her. He then publicly reveals his identity to her, the king, and the chorus as Lohengrin, the son of Parzival, a knight of the Holy Grail; the rule of this knightly order is to remain anonymous for all the time of their aid to others. He now reluctantly has to leave his beloved Elsa forever. His swan boat arrives, and he leaves his wife, just like Cupid slipping away, while Elsa

collapses dead on shore (cf. *Met.* 5.24–5, where Cupid leaves Psyche lying on the ground after she had broken his taboo).

Wagner scholars point to his inspiration from Greek tragedies and especially the myth of Zeus and Semele (via Friedrich Schiller's lyric operetta *Semele* (1782)), and Wagner himself was aware that the name taboo was a classical motif.[214] Borchmeyer, however, points out, too, that the French poet Charles Baudelaire noted the uncanny similarity between *Lohengrin*'s wedding chamber scene and Cupid and Psyche, as both women are driven by curiosity to find out their unknown husband's identity.[215] Again, key motifs of C&P are so interwoven into German culture that they find echoes not only in the literature but also in the music that is still influential today.

14. Conclusions

This overview has ignored the fine arts almost entirely,[216] and many more works of literature by well- or lesser-known authors could have been added. Apart from the works discussed here, the motif of Cupid and Psyche appears in others in a more fleeting but still poignant manner—for example, in Friedrich Schlegel's (1772–1829) erotic romantic novel *Lucinde* (1799), as an image of love overcoming death in the central chapter 'Metamorphoses'.[217] The linguist and English teacher Christian Friedrich Falkmann (1782–1844) in 1816 published in Göttingen his *Poetische Versuche*, including the poem 'Schlüsselblumen', where a boy reads 'Feenmährchen' and, as an innocent young man, admires a statue of Psyche that looks like his sister. Much more work can be done here beyond this mere basic outline of German reception in this crucial century.

C&P lent itself to Christian and philosophical reception, and, because of its ending in marriage, became a useful ancient myth for women (especially) to explore their interest in the classical world though contained in contemporary morals. Time and again the happy ending allowed it to be revisited as a pagan myth suitable for wedding ceremonies, since it suggested to the brides a positive identification with a beautiful and sympathetic female character from antiquity, and her final wedded bliss and motherhood were a cornerstone in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

reception (Wieland, Kosegarten, Hirt, von Lincker, and others). The frequent use of ‘Psyche’ as a pseudonym for admired female members in poets’ circles (La Roche, Flachsland) is no doubt similarly based on this kind of socially permitted enactment of mythological projection on desirable women. Psyche’s wedding was evoked by artists and writers of both sexes and adapted to their personal lives and search for their own marital happiness.

Contradictory explorations of the soul could already be traced to Apuleius and his medieval reception, and even more so to a hopefully and tendentiously reconstructed Greek (and therefore better than the frivolous African’s) original tale; interest in Greece and in the nature of the soul was a contemporary concern. Lyric poetry explored the nature of Psyche as the soul and poetic inspiration, an idealized lover and a muse, while also associating her with the themes of death and immortality. The desire for Greek authenticity in the most archaic of myths led to the overall acceptance of the story as Greek, and of Apuleius as a lesser author who gave the ancient myth a fairy-tale-like sheen. The close interpersonal links between the writers in this period, who often knew each other and communicated their views on the soul and poetry, frequently including trained classical scholars alongside poets, is another important aspect of German reception in this time. Clearly, interaction with C&P in Germany is driven by classicists, even in the lighter genres, who often focused on the reconstruction of an imaginary Greek text or original, and it can be expressed in engagement with both Platonism and fairy tales. This itself fascinated some authors, and the levity associated with fairy tales allowed them to experiment with the plot and the characters quite freely, since the refashioning of C&P as a fairy tale, especially in the early part of the century, was common. Sometimes authors employed both deep Platonist symbolism and a fairy-tale veneer in their works at the same time, in attempt to echo what they believed Apuleius himself had done.

Romanticism in Germany in the early 1800s was in many ways a reaction to its predecessors, classicism and Hellenism.[218] ‘Modern’—that is, ‘Romantic’—literature was more sensitive, less perfect than Greek literature, according to Friedrich Schlegel, and the term was intrinsically linked with the new genre of choice, the novel. As one of the first novels ever written, Apuleius’ novel naturally lent itself to this new form, and, from Goethe to Brunnow, its novella-like inserted tale of C&P offered

inspiration for the developing genre's form, structure, and content. Especially in the novels discussed here, Psyche's flexibility as a symbol and plot element led to a doubling of characters that covers all aspects—death and immortality, poetic inspiration and maiden-like innocence, scholarly learnedness and female-oriented writing and readership, in such diverse writers as Wieland, Goethe, and the two von Arnims.

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[1] Holm (2006: 17, 247).

[2] Prinzess Elisabeth Charlotte ('Lieselotte') von der Pfalz (1652–1722) was the second wife of Philippe, duke of Orleans, the younger brother of Louis XIV of France.

[3] Georg Caspar Schürmann (1672/73–1751) in 1708 seems to have adapted Keiser and Postel's work as *Die schöne Psyche* for performance in Brunswick, but it is lost. See Olsen (1974: no. 47) for a complete list of variations and performances; *Singspiele* are German-language operas that include spoken sections and are romantic in plot; they often feature magic and fights between good and evil. Generally, on the German *Singspiel*, see Branscombe (1971).

[4] On the novel and its author, see Tunberg-Morrish (2008) and Gärtner (2013).

[5] See also the 1637 verse epic *Cupid and Psiche, or an Epick Poem of Cupid, and his Mistress* by Shakerley Marmion (1603–39), who is better known for his satiric comedies. Interested in the concept of 'Platonic love', he treats the story as pretty mythological entertainment in the wake of Fulgentius, whose version of the story he paraphrases in his introduction without acknowledgement (see Carver 2007: 355).

[6] For a discussion, see Gärtner (2013).

[7] Bottigheimer (2014: 180) and elsewhere uses the spelling *repuerescantia*.

[8] For a thorough treatment by Germanists and art historians, see the books by Holm (2006), Cavicchioli (2002), and Steinmetz (1989).

[9] On Sieder see Kühn 1993: 156, Plank 2004, and Küenzlen 2005. According to Rode 1780: XIX, two German translations, both from 1605 and published in Frankfurt, were unavailable to him.

[10] A prolific Germanist and pedagogue; I have been unable to get hold of this book, but a copy of Kehrein's translation was owned by Kierkegaard, on whose interest in Apuleius see Andreadakis (2020); a short review of Kehrein (1834) can be found in Gersdorf (1834: 355).

[11] For a complete list up to 1949, see Stephan (2016: 295), who lists twenty-two translations of Cupid and Psyche.

[12] See Holm 2006: 18–19 and Stephan 2016 for a list and discussion of subsequent translations and adaptations of the text in German. For Rode see e.g. Stephan 2016 in Kitzbichler & Stephan 2016.

[13] This and other omissions are discussed in Stephan (2016: 309–13).

[14] Stephan (2016: 301–2).

[15] These paintings by Raphael and his school are crucial for the German reception in this period. On the Loggia di Psiche, see Chapter 1.

[16] Discussed in Stephan (2016: 302). Rode (1780: 'Vorrede', no pagination).

[17] On German poets in Italy, see Grimm, Breymayer, and Erhart (1990). Goethe describes how exhilarated he was by the Psyche cycle of the Farnesina in his *Italiänische Reise*, 18 November 1786 (1870: i. 87), and on 16 July 1787 (1870: ii. 41) mentions that he had looked at coloured reproductions of the cycle many times with his friends and considers it the most beautiful of decorations he knows.

[18] See Rüdiger (1960: 553–4), the *Nachwort* to a Rode edition; Burck (1961: esp. 298).

[19] See Harrison (2013: 13–37) for these traditional criticisms of Apuleius. For, e.g., Norden's (1898) influential negative judgement of Apuleius style, see Chapter 6.

[20] For images of the Schloss's interior, see https://deu.archinform.net/projekte/1104.htm.

[21] Princess Louise Henriette Wilhelmine of Brandenburg-Schwedt (1770–1811).

[22] Holm (2006: 142–3). On the Marlborough gem, see Chapter 1, n. 38. For an interesting parallel in French interior decoration, see Simard (2020).

[23] For an image, see https://www.museum.de/blog/angelika-kauffmann-unbekannte-schaetze-aus-vorarlberger-privatsammlungen/.

[24] On Kauffmann, see Baumgärtel (2009). For Rode on the paintings, see Rode (1788: 43, 46, 61). On the Luisium, see Holm (2006: 142–4).

[25] Grätz (1988: 45) and Zipes (2015: s.v. 'The Formation of the Literary Fairy Tale in Germany').

[26] Tismar (1983: 23). See also Hearne (1989: 151) on the literary influences on the Grimm Brothers.

[27] For (mainly) anglophone literary adaptations of the French tales, see Hearne (1989), and generally for the presence of French fairy tales in Germany see Bottigheimer (2009: 55–7) and Grätz (1988: 152ff.).

[28] [Schulze, J. H. A.] (1789), *Psyche: ein Feenmährchen des Appulejus. Lateinisch nach Oudendorps und Ruhnkens Recension. Mit Anmerkungen*. 1789.

[29] See, e.g., Kühn (1993: 156).

[30] Oudendorp (1786).

[31] Compare Adlington's 1566 translation, which divided the *Metamorphoses* into forty-eight chapters.

[32] Holm (2006: 104–5).

[33] *Africitas* is an often disparagingly used term for the Latin of the second and third centuries CE, associated with 'expressive exuberance, lexical polychromy and verbal creativity, with particular attention paid to the phonic and rhythmic values of the structure of the discourse' (Mattiacci 2014 : 88). It came to be used to describe the Latin of Fronto and Apuleius in the Renaissance of Erasmus and Vives. See further Mattiacci (2014) for a history of its use on scholarship on Apuleius.

[34] e.g. Fuhrmann (1807: 38) calls his notes 'shallow'.

[35] This is especially influenced by the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68) and contemporary reactions to the *Querelle*; see Riedel (2000: 110). On German philhellenism in this period, see Marchand (1996) and Valdez (2014).

[36] Kosegarten (1789). References in the text are to page numbers in this edition. On Kosegarten's life and writings, see Holmes (2004: esp. 116 on *Psyche*). See Chapter 1 for the association of Cupid

and Psyche with wedding imagery throughout the centuries.

[37] Holm (2006: 107–8).

[38] See also the summative assessment in Grätz (1988: 317), who furthermore negatively compares Schulze's anonymously published version without identifying the author.

[39] His angry Venus sounds like Mozart's Königin der Nacht from *The Magic Flute*, as she rants 'Räche, räche deiner Mutter Schmach' (1789: 28); Mozart's *Singspiel* in fact premiered in Greifswald a year before Kosegarten's first edition. On this *Singspiel*, see below.

[40] But see Holm (2006: 107–8) on closeness to Marino.

[41] The Romantics noted this discrepancy between folk tale and artificial fairy tale, and responded by constructing tales of the second, *Kunstmärchen*, of their own.

[42] For the definition, see Mayer and Tismar (1997a).

[43] Holmes (2004: 226).

[44] See Blümner (1903: 652–7), Ladendorff (1904), and Kühn (1993: 156).

[45] Whether or not Cupid helps Psyche in Apuleius is contested. James (1987: 182–5) argues that he does; Zimmerman et al. (2004: 446) are more sceptical.

[46] See Gaisser (2008: 110–21), Carver (2007: 140), and Cavicchioli (2002: 60–4) on Boccaccio's *Genealogia*.

[47] For the reception of Anacreon in late antiquity, see Rosenmeyer (1992).

[48] For a critical assessment of the Anacreontics, see Anger (1962: 27–31) and Beetz (2005).

[49] On Gleim, see, e.g., Körte (1811) and Stört (2010).

[50] Gleim (1812: 188–216).

[51] Gleim (1812: 215).

[52] Holm (2006: 38).

[53] e.g. *Ich, der mit flatterndem Sinn* (Beethoven WoO114; 1792); *Das Leben ist ein Traum* (Hayden HOB XXVIA:21; 1784); *An Chloe* (Mozart K524; 1787).

[54] Holm (2006: 36–7).

[55] Nenon (2005), despite its focus on the younger brother, also discusses the poet, on whom Schober (1938) is still the most important monograph.

[56] Gleim in his *Vorrede* to his collected works (1812: p. ii). Despite her engagement to Wieland, she married Georg Michael Anton Frank Maria von La Roche (1720–88) in 1753. Von La Roche was the illegitimate son of Johann Philipp Carl Joseph, Graf von Stadion-Warthausen (1763–1824), and Sophie joined his court, which gave her access to a rather large library. After a move to Ehrenbreitstein near Koblenz, she became the centre of a literary salon frequented by, e.g., Wieland, Goethe, and the Jacobi brothers, and from 1771 onwards she herself composed moralistic and journalistic works and novels to support her family financially.

[57] Jacobi (1819: 4).

[58] For the flurry of contemporary artwork based on Cupid and Psyche gems and the Capitoline statue of Cupid and Psyche, see Holm (2006: 139–42). Holm (2006: 31–4) argues that Jacobi's main inspiration was *Kleinkunst*, mainly gemstones, rather than Apuleius' text; nevertheless, the association of Psyche with innocence and antiquity was easily transferable to the literary text, too.

[59] Maximiliane von La Roche (1756–1793) was one of the inspirations for Goethe's Lotte in *Werther*, and the mother of Bettina von Arnim. See Nenon (2005: 63).

[60] Holm (2006: 40).

[61] On Wieland's fairy tales and their sources, see Grätz (1988: 165–72), Zipes (2015: s.v. 'The Formation of the Literary Fairy Tale in Germany'). For the importance of Giambattista Basile, see below, and also Chapter 1.

[62] For Sieder, see Stephan (2016: 279). Printed in Brandt (1958).

[63] See Walsh (1974).

[64] Anger (1962: 29).

[65] Blümner (1903: 650–1); Heinz (2008: 208). For a recent discussion with up-to-date bibliography, see Müller (2000). For Wieland and the ancient novel, especially Heliodorus, see Johne (1986).

[66] Thus Wieland himself in his preface. Müller (2000: 272) traces the segments in Wieland's other works.

[67] On Apuleius' two Venuses, one heavenly and one vulgar, an adaptation of a Platonic concept, see, e.g., Kenney (1990: 17–22).

[68] On the frequency of this image in *Aeneid* and elsewhere, see Belfiore (1984).

[69] For Aspasia II, a hetaira and lover of the Persian rulers Cyrus the Younger, Artaxerxes, and Darius, see, e.g., Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 26–8. She is younger than and not identical with Perikles' mistress known from Plato's *Menexenus*. Wieland made her the protagonist in several of his works: the verse narrative 'Aspasia. Eine griechische Erzählung' (1773) treats the love between Aspasia and Alkahest as a critique of Platonic love when overwhelmed by strong physical desire. See Heinz (2008: 205–6, s.v. 'Aspasia oder die platonische Liebe').

[70] Müller (2000: 276) works out the similarities and differences between Apuleius and Wieland.

[71] Müller (2000: 275) attributes Isis' parentage of Psyche to contemporary orientalizing tastes.

[72] Wieland (1794 a and d). The story is told in flashbacks and starts *in medias res*. For a chronological summary of the plot, see Heinz (2008: 261–3). Heinz compares *Agathon* with early modern novels, not the ancient ones, which Wieland has certainly read, as Johne (1986) shows. All quotations from *Agathon* follow the text in Wieland's *Sämmtliche Werke (*1794 a-d), which include the novel's first (1794a) and second part (1794d) in their first and second volumes respectively, by referencing part, book and chapter.

[73] Wieland namedrops the playwright Agathon, found in Plato's works, in his 'Vorbericht' (preface), though oddly as a comedian, but insists that his Agathon is a creation of fiction.

[74] See above note 69 on Aspasia II.

[75] See Chapter 5 on Pater, whose protagonist Marius undergoes a character development comparable to Agathon.

[76] Agathon is the representation of the enlightened Platonic enthusiast and visionary, Hippias is a scheming materialist and sophist. Their philosophical arguments make up a large part of *Agathon*.

[77] First sign of Wieland distancing himself from Platonic ideas; cf. Riedel (2008: 112).

[78] Holm (2006: 160–3) argues that the same stagnation can be seen in Goethe's influential inset story in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, the 'Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele' or 'Confessions of a beautiful soul' (for which see below). The heroine is introspective and passive.

[79] See Müller (2000: 272) and Heinz (2008: 207).

[80] On Wieland's reception of antiquity, see Riedel (2008: 109–18).

[81] For an introduction to Herder and his works, see Adler and Koepke (2009). On single works, see Greif, Heinz, and Clairmont (2016: esp. 514–24).

[82] On the movement, see Pascal (1953) and Karthaus and Manß (2007).

[83] A term found in Rousseau, Wieland, Schiller, and many others, for a kind of human whose soul is calmly balanced morally and aesthetically beautiful, often conceived of as feminine. For the term, see Norton (1995).

[84] Maria Karoline Flachsland (1750–1809) married Johann Gottfried von Herder in 1773 after two years of courtship in Darmstadt and was his lifelong collaborator, as well as a friend of Goethe and La Roche. The painter Angelika Kauffmann (30 October 1741–5 November 1807) sent her a cameo with Psyche as a token of friendship via letters. For Kauffmann's Psyche reception in art, see Cavicchioli (2002: 223–4) and Holm (2006: 147–56).

[85] On the origins of this nickname, see Holm (2006: 258), who surmises that it derives from Wieland's *Agathon*.

[86] See Holm (2006: 49–51) for details.

[87] Goethe remained fond of playful Psyche references. For example, his poem 'Der neue Amor' describes a 'new' Cupid as 'Amor, nicht das Kind, der Jüngling, der Psychen verführte' | 'Amor, not the child, the youth who seduced Psyche', in a poem 'suggesting that the love of art derives from the impregnation of Platonic by sexual love' (Boyle 2000: 145). A mischievous poem, dated by Boyle to 1792, and published in 1827, it was set to music in 1821 by Karl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832). See Dye (2004: 100) for Goethe's love of doubling and substituting new characters out of old ones. In the similarly funny short poem 'Den Musen-Schwestern' (in Goethe 1829: 121), the Muses try to educate Psyche in the arts, but 'Das Seelchen blieb prosaisch rein' ('The little soul remained prosaically pure' (l. 4)) and plays the lyre not very well. But Cupid desires her nevertheless, so the point of the lesson was completed anyway: 'Der ganze Cursus war vollbracht' (l. 8)). This humorous approach to Psyche continued with the poem 'Gedicht an Psyche' by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), published in 1844 and written in Heine's Parisian exile. In a contrast between pagan and Christian approaches to sexuality (Steinhauer 1949), Heine (1844: 195) has the pagan Psyche do 1,800 years of Christian penance, still fasting and whipping herself, as a punishment for seeing Cupid naked, after breaking the taboo carrying both a 'tiny lamp' and 'huge ardour' to see him.

[88] See, e.g., *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet?* (1786) and especially *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, no. 64 (Herder 1795: 119–20): 'Glaube man doch nicht, dass Apulejus dies Fabel ersonnen habe; sie war lange vor ihm da in Denkmahlen, die sein Zeitalter nicht | bilden konnte, ja selbst in der Sprache. Er that nichts, als die einzelnen Auftritte zu einem Mährchen dichten, und dazu auf eine sehr Afrikanische…Weise.' See also Holm (2006: 122–3), with further examples. Apuleius' influential German editor Rudolf Helm 1910 shared the belief that the inset tales were inappropriate and superfluous additions to a lost but perfect Greek tale. On Helm see Harrison (2013b: 24–6).

[89] Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, xxix. 656, cited in Holm (2006: 123). Our translation; the pun in 'Beflügelung', which means both 'having wings' and 'inspiration', is untranslateable.

[90] Holm (2006: 124) cites his *Versuche über Gegenstände aus der Mythologie der Griechen und Römer* (Manso 1794: 345–6). On Aristophontes, see Chapter 1, Section 3.

[91] See, further, Uhlig (1975: 20–7) and Steinmetz (1989: 189–99).

[92] An ancient concept in tragedy: see Rehm (1994) and May (2006: 210–11) for Apuleius. Merkelbach (1962: 12) sees it as a sign of mystery cult initiations. The motif is popular throughout Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For a famous example not related to Apuleius, see the 1817 *lied* of Franz Schubert (1797–1828) *Der Tod und das Mädchen* ('Death and the Maiden' (D 531; op. 7, no. 3)), based on a poem by the German Romantic poet Matthias Claudius (1740–1815).

[93] On Psyche on Roman child sarcophagi, see Huskinson (1996: 52–4). Mary Tighe's tomb (see Chapter 4) features a small mourning psyche for similar reasons.

[94] Uhlig (1975: 25–7).

[95] For images and a discussion of the various incarnations of this group and its reception, see Cavicchioli (2002: 44, 47–50). Our image from Rees (1819) represents one of the many etchings and copies available for northern audiences to study the statue group outside Italy in this period.

[96] Friedrich Schiller, *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1800* (Tübingen 1800: 242).

[97] Herder (1879c: 114–16).

[98] Material on this is also in Steinmetz (1989: 16–17).

[99] On the collection, see Nebrig, Renner, and Spoerhase (2018).

[100] Jacob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Carl Grimm (1786–1859).

[101] Bottigheimer (2009: 22–3). See also Chapter 1.

[102] Bottigheimer (2009: 7). Our highlight. More detail in Bottigheimer (2009: 27–52), where she sets out the romantic narrative of the oral history of fairy tales against the evidence of widely used literary sources.

[103] Discussed and analysed in Kühn (1993: 158–61).

[104] The Romantics noted this discrepancy between folk tale and artificial fairy tale and responded by constructing tales of the second type of their own, *Kunstmärchen*.

[105] Bottigheimer (2009: 51); for an at times forcefully phrased literary review and critique of the folktale vs artist tale (*Volksmärchen* vs *Kunstmärchen*) approach, see Grätz (1988: 1–18).

[106] See, e.g., the letter by Jacob Grimm to Achim von Arnim, 29 October 1812, claiming that he is absolutely convinced that the stories they tell have been told, without exceptions, for hundreds of years. Cited in Grätz (1988: 2).

[107] See, e.g., Fehling (1977: 55–6).

[108] Maggi (2015: 3).

[109] Fehling (1977: 63).

[110] The category among Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* KHM 88, corresponding with Aarne-Thompson AT 425, is 'the bride in search for her missing groom'. See Helm (1968) and Fehling (1977: 68–9); Hoevels (1979) adds psychoanalysis. See also Praet (2011) for a modified idea that, regardless of the tale's ultimate origins, it is via Apuleius' version that the story became known.

[111] Grimm (1996: ii. 104–110, no. 88). See also the commentary by Uther in Grimm (1996: iv. 166–9). Dorothea 'Dörtchen' Wild (1793-1867) married Wilhelm Grimm in 1825.

[112] See Fehling (1977: 62) and Uther in Grimm (1996: iv. 166).

[113] Warner (1994: 275).

[114] On the voices in the tale, see Mal-Maeder and Zimmerman (1998).

[115] Warner (1994: 327).

[116] Text, translation, and discussion of the reception of *The History of Apollonius King of Tyre*: Archibald (1991); commentary: Panayotakis (2012).

[117] Fehling (1977: 36). Wilhelm Grimm (1881) classed fairy tales into groups; see Gėly (2006: 284).

[118] Warner (1994: 294).

[119] Maggi (2015: 8) and Zipes (2015: s.v. ‘The Formation of the Literary Fairy Tale in Germany’.

[120] Maggi (2015: 20). See also Gėly (2006: 315) and Borghese (2007). On Basile in general and his work, see Canepa (1999: esp. 35–51), and Chapter 1, Section 4.

[121] See Praet (2018) for these two tales and further similarities. He even argues for verbal echoes of Apuleius in Basile throughout, an indication of direct use of the Latin text by Basile.

[122] Bottigheimer (2009: 53–74).

[123] Grimm, J. ‘Vorrede’, in *Der Pentamerone, oder Das Märchen aller Märchen von Giambattista Basile*. 2 vls. Transl. Felix Liebrecht. Breslau: Verlag bei Josef Mar und Kom, 1848: xi. Cited in Maggi 2015: 34 and 352.

[124] Maggi 2015: 32.

[125] See above Chapter 1.4 and Maggi 2015: 33–4 for the pervasiveness of Apuleius’ tale in the *Cunto*.

[126] Maggi 2015: 36–7 translates the tale, Maggi 2015: 309–10 translates the Grimms’ summary. For this and the following tale see also the analysis in Praet 2018.

[127] Maggi (2015: 41–4, 339–40) translates and abridges Basile’s original, and the Grimms’ summary. See also Gėly (2006: 317) for a summary of this story and *Lo Catenaccio.*

[128] Praet (2018); he furthermore argues that fairy-tale versions of the story apart from Basile’s also ultimately go back to Apuleius’ text, and thus engages critically with Maggi (2015), who believes in an ultimately oral source for both Apuleius and Basile.

[129] For the importance of Straparola for the fairy tale, see Bottigheimer (2014: 148). Still, Straparola does not have an obvious adaptation of C&P, and Ziolkowski (2010) suggests only a very general resemblance of the ‘rise tale’—i.e. a tale where the heroine rises from a simple background to noble status (see Bottigheimer 2009: 13)—as opposed to the obvious adaptations of C&P found in Basile.

[130] Maggi (2015: 21).

[131] Interestingly, the tale features some gender inversions of Apuleius: a prince is in love with a girl who magically grew from a myrtle twig and who only visits him at night; actions of jealous women, though not the girl’s sisters, result in her death and resurrection through the prince’s love. In Brentano’s ‘Das Märchen von dem Myrtenfräulein’, Basile’s harlots become ladies in waiting. Like the Grimms’ versions of Basile, Brentano’s becomes gentrified, less earthy, and more fairy-tale-like.

[132] Bottigheimer (2009: 27–52). Incidentally, Bottigheimer (1989) believes that Cupid and Psyche is an adaptation of much older fairy-tale motifs, including the *Panchatantra*, but that fairy-tale versions that we have are themselves based on Apuleius’ version. For oral sources combining with written sources, see Zipes (1994).

[133] Detailed discussion: Holm (2006: 126–9).

[134] A discussion of further scholars is in Holm (2006: 129–37).

[135] Creuzer (1771–1858), author of *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besondere der Griechen* (1810–12), an attempt to read mythology symbolically—for example, Psyche’s butterfly burnt as a symbol of love pains. His love affair with the poet Karoline von Günderrode (1780–1806), the friend of Bettina von Arnim, ended in her suicide when he broke it off.

[136] Moritz (1756–93). He saw myths as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a work of art that is in itself complete; see Holm (2006: 7, 130), Schreiber (2012), and the recent new commentary on his works by Disselkamp in Moritz (2018).

[137] Friedländer (1824–1909), author of the still important study *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* (3 vols, 1862–71). See Friedländer 1871 for Cupid and Psyche.

[138] Böttiger (1760–1835), author of *Kunstmythologie* (1811). He focused on the presumed Eros mysteries in Thespiae as a postulated origin of the myth.

[139] In our translation: 'It is not the case that the Psyche myth derives from ancient fairy tales, but the fairy tales resembling it are to be interpreted as remains of myths and rites which originally referred to initiation ceremonies. Jacob Grimm was quite right when he thought that some of the fairy tales collected by him and his brother were attestations of German mythology. Subsequent scholars of fairy tales believed this to be a romantic error committed by Grimm. But he understood more deeply than his epigones.' (Merkelbach 1962: 19).

[140] Moritz (1791: 397–8).

[141] See above note 35 on German philhellenism.

[142] Holm (2006: 133).

[143] Holm (2006: 19).

[144] Hirt 1818. For what Hirt's staged ballets and other extravaganzas might have looked in detail, see Sedlarz (2004a). Hirt also influenced the German–Danish diarist and travel writer Friederike Brun (1765–1835)—e.g. in her 1812 poem *Amor und Psyche. Ein Lebenszyklus. Nach acht antiken geschnittenen Steinen* and later works. See Chapter 4 for further poetic cycles based on gemstones.

[145] Holm (2006: 145–7).

[146] Holm (2006: 12); for a similar development in English literature, see Haekel (2014).

[147] See Chapter 1 and Harrison (2013: 161-77) on the tale's epic allusions.

[148] Blümner (1903: 670); Holm (2006: 105).

[149] On his poetology, see Tadday (1998).

[150] For Isis as Psyche's mother, see Wieland's *Bruckstücke von Psyche*, in Section 6.

[151] Holm (2006: 114–18).

[152] Holm (2006: 105–6).

[153] See Steinmetz (1989: 139–65) for the Roman statue groups' pervasive influence on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art.

[154] Holm (2006: 111–13). For a rather negative review of the poem's more 'common' passages, see Gersdorf (1836: 206).

[155] On Psyche and Hercules, see Leidl (2020).

[156] Blümner (1903: 671–2).

[157] Blümner (1903: 657–9). A somewhat expurgated version can be found in Silk, Gildenhard, and Barrow (2017: 50).

[158] Holm (2006: 106–7).

[159] See Riedel (2010) for a useful overview, and pp. 183–8 for evidence of Goethe's early engagement with Latin poetry, among others in *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. The only reference to Apuleius, though, in Riedel (2010: 212) is to *Faust*, to a female demon with a donkey foot and mask in the *Klassische Walpurgisnacht*, 7732–59.

[160] See Trevelyan (1941) for a discussion of Goethe and the Greeks.

[161] The duchess herself produced a retelling of Firenzuola's adaptation in 1781–2. For Goethe's fascination with Raphael's frescoes, see Cavicchioli (2002: 222–3).

[162] Rüdiger (1963: 80–1). For Psyche in his literary imagination, see above on Caroline Flachsland. On Goethe's fascination with Cupid and Psyche, see Holm (2006: 18, 47–50) and above note 87. For an image from Meyer's designs in Goethe's house, see Holm (2006: 149).

[163] 'Charakterbild', in: 'Űber die Gegenstände der bildenden Kunst' *(in Propyläen,* 1798). – Even in his late masterpiece *Faust* (*Zweiter Teil*) ll. 11660–62 he alludes to this image, as Mephisto describes the soul like a butterfly with wings that can be pulled out.

[164] Allusions to the Greek novels may include book 4 chapter 3, where Philine holds Wilhelm's head in her lap after robbers raided their party resembling Charicleia's holding of the wounded Theagenes in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* after their shipwreck in Egypt. Goethe owned a copy of the 1616 Spanish translation of Heliodorus. There is an echo of the scene in 'Bekenntnisse', when die schöne Seele holds the blood covered body of her fiancé Narzi*β* in her arms after a duel (Holm 2006: 162 interprets this as an allusion to Mary's holding of Jesus in the *pietà*).

[165] For some of these points see also Adler 2010: 240–1.

[166] Wilhelm joins a theatrical troupe. For Apuleius and drama see May 2006.

[167] The use of *Hamlet* references, a similarly important key text, as a mirror of Wilhelm in the novel has been analysed by Zumbrink 1997: 409–11.

[168] See Chapter 1.3 above and May & Harrison 2020: 7–8.

[169] See the 1828 portrait of Mignon by Wilhelm von Schadow: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Wilhelm_Schadow#/media/File:Schadow,_Friedrich_Wilhelm_von_-_Mignon_-_1828.jpg .

[170] Schlaffer 1980: 75–9 sees Mignon as a Psyche-figure in the novel, but her parallels between Mignon and Psyche may not convince everyone. Nevertheless it is remarkable though not discussed by Schlaffer that Jacobi's Psyche in 'Schmetterling', a poem about the immortality of the soul and life after death, also has golden wings which allow her to fly alongside the divine Cupid to his fatherland (Jacobi 1819: 9).

[171] 'Abenteuer mit einem reizenden kleinen Engel, der im wei*β*en Gewand und goldenen Flügeln sich sehr um mich bemühte'.

[172] See below and Schultze (2020) for similar doublings in nineteenth-century novels.

[173] Schlaffer (1980: 93–4) discusses some parallels between Mignon and Hilarie.

[174] Much the same happens in the nineteenth century in English literature: see Chapters 4 and 5.

[175] Eichner (1972: 145).

[176] For a discussion of the representation of the women, Raphael as artist, and Christian elements in the novella, see Holm (2006: 217–22). Simon and Stein (1995: 300), too, see Christian imagery overlayering Apuleius' here. See also Simon and Stein (1995: 312–13) on Ghita having some divine, and Benedetta some earthy, characteristics: Benedetta is his model for Madonna paintings as well as for some more erotic images, such as Galatea and Psyche in the Farnesina painted by the ape-like creature. On Galatea, see also Ruggeri (2020).

[177] For biographical interpretations, see Baumgart (2010); Simon and Stein (1995) try to identify the paintings mentioned in the novella. For Raphael's fresco-cycle in the Villa Farnesina, see Chapter 1, Section 4.

[178] See Japp (2003) on some of the split identities in the novella.

[179] Maisak (2010: 147).

[180] Maisak (2010: 147–8, and detailed discussion of the drafts, pp. 167–8); Holm (2006: 226–31).

[181] Images of Cupid and Psyche as children are Roman—e.g. on the Marlborough gem see Chapter 1, note 38, on sarcophagi see n. 92.

[182] Arnim (1881): 2nd book, letter to Goethe, 20 March 1809. For a Jungian reading of *Briefwechsel*, see Bäumer (1986).

[183] On the interwoven relationship between fiction and reality in this book, see Holm (2006: 298–9). On the novel's popularity and early reception, see Holm (2006: 226). Note that, after a rather public spat between Bettina and Goethe's wife in 1811, Goethe terminated all communication with both von Arnims.

[184] Armin (1881). The first two books entirely consist of letters, the third book is in diary style and covers the same period of the letters and beyond.

[185] Arnim (1881: iii. 542–4 on the monument; iii. 423 on the rose imagery).

[186] e.g. Arnim (1881: iii. 508, 522).

[187] e.g. Arnim (1881: iii. 512); the fragment is called 'In Goethe's garden' (iii. 534).

[188] Arnim (1881: iii. 487–9). Shafi (1995: 97–8) sees the recurring image of Psyche as a symbol of Bettina forming her own specifically feminine identity. Holm (2006: 229) stresses the initiation into art.

[189] Bettina von Arnim also used Psyche motifs in a similar way in her other works: Shafi (1995) traces them in *Die Günderrode* (1840) and *Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz* (1844).

[190] Arnim (1881: ii. 241, 245, letter to Goethe, 20 April 1809, and Goethe's letter in reply).

[191] Arnim (1881: ii. 255, letter to Goethe, 6 June 1809). Jacobi had briefly courted her deceased mother Maximiliane.

[192] Discussed by Holm (2006: 222–6). References are to Brunnow 1837.

[193] The doubling motif even extends to the two male protagonists, and Angelika's deceased fiancé, as Arthur, via his similarity with Oskar, resembles the dead Alfred: 'Alfreds und Arthurs Bild schmolzen in meiner Seele zu einem zusammen', as Angelika declares (1837: 146).

[194] Holm (2006: 222–3) analyses the novel's poems under this aspect.

[195] Holm (2006: 224) identifies this as a three-dimensional version of one of Thorwaldsen's reliefs.

[196] See, e.g., Gaisser (2008: 113) and Chapter 1.

[197] For similar concerns with Apuleius' style and nature during Decadence, see the beginning of Chapter 6.

[198] For appreciations of his work, see Molsberger (1929) and Weil (1932). *Psyche* was then and is now one of his least discussed works, and almost untraceable in modern libraries.

[199] Holm (2006: 201–4) places her discussion into the context of Canova's and Rauch's statues.

[200] As in Victorian Britain—see Chapter 5.

[201] For a pan-European overview, see Müller-Reineke (2009).

[202] Davidson-Reid (1993: 946).

[203] Müchler 1789; all references are to this edition.

[204] On eighteenth century *Singspiele*, see Branscombe (1971).

[205] See Morenz (1952), Rüdiger (1963: 81), and Branscombe (1991) for bibliography and discussion. Mozart's *Singspiel* style was influential on, for example, the Dresden-born Joseph Schuster (1748–1813), who composed Italian opera but was equally successful as composer of *Singspiels*, and who wrote *Amor e Psyche*, an *opera seria*, in 1780. Ludwig Abeille (1761–1838), a composer based in Stuttgart at the court of the duke of Württemberg, composed *Amor und Psyche* as a *Singspiel* in four acts in 1800, with a libretto by Franz Karl Hiemer (1768–1822).

[206] For a comparison of Isis mysteries and Cupid and Psyche, see Merkelbach (1962: 1–53).

[207] Psyche held by her wings: Gerhardt (2008: 44, 75 (citing examples of poems by Brun and others)).

[208] Meisl (1820: 1–58).

[209] An Italian-language opera (*Amore e Psiche*) by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729–74), with libretto by Marco Cotellini, was first performed in 1767 at the Vienna Burgtheater; see Davidson-Reid (1993: 946).

[210] Müller (1963: 21).

[211] Grillparzer (1887: 135–40).

[212] On the genre of lyrical drama, see Wagner (1990).

[213] Cf. the *tragicomedie et ballet* discussed in Chapter 2, Section 4.

[214] Borchmeyer (2003: 11).

[215] Borchmeyer (2003: 151) points to Baudelaire (1995: 130).

[216] Both Steinmetz (1989) and Holm (2006) focus on the interplay between art and literature. Holm especially has done much work to show the inspiration that artwork of Psyche has offered for literary adaptations. Consequently, her treatments of literary intertextuality are much briefer.

[217] On ancient literary references in the novel, see Helfer (1996).

[218] See Eichner (1972: 117).

4

Cupid and Psyche in English Romanticism and After

1. Introduction: Psyche in English Romanticism

The definition of Romanticism is notoriously difficult, but, in a discussion of C&P's reception in the period, the description of its key features by Wellek is particularly pertinent: 'each [sc. criterium] is central for one aspect of the practice of literature: imagination for the view of poetry, nature for the view of the world, and symbol and myth for poetic style.'[1] The romantic imagination tended towards a fascination with the unseen and ineffable, with often enough a melancholic undertone.[2] A focus on the soul as the seat and image of poetic inspiration and imagination spread among Romantic poets,[3] alongside an interest in ancient myth as a source for poetry. The plot of C&P allows for all these, with its unseen voices and the numinous nature of its god.

This chapter spreads its net widely, beyond Romanticism in the stricter sense to cover some Gothic and sentimental writing, focuses on many of the English Romantic poets engaging with C&P, but also moves beyond the Romantic period by looking at Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose reception of the story—for example, in its use to explore poetic imagination—shares many features with that of her earlier sisters.

English Romantics engaged in a revival of interest in classical literature and aestheticism took much from German writers and their romantic *Sehnsucht* (wistful yearning).[4] The plot of C&P, as we have seen in Chapter 3, is influential in the formation of German novels of the period. Psyche

also became a Gothic favourite, as a girl in search of learning who at the same time is trapped in her environment, and who overcomes many obstacles in order to be united with her lover in a perfect union at the end. This makes the story an especially useful paradigm for female writers, whose classical education was often haphazard and dependent on the permission of their male relatives, and for whom engagement with Latin, Greek, and ancient stories was an object of desire and emancipation.[5] Classical reception in Gothic texts, a genre associated with women writers, is often enough a scattering of references to antiquity as a form of resistant reference to the ancient world as something darker and threatening.[6] Many novels of the period allude to C&P in one form or another, ranging from brief allusions to shaping large parts of the plot on the story; as novels came to be more and more popular, C&P, as a part of one of the earliest novels, becomes a genre marker for novelists in itself.

Two examples of early English novels may show how Psyche came to be integrated into the Gothic and Romantic imagination, especially by women writers writing for a female readership.[7] Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823) was one of the most popular and successful writers of her time and is currently experiencing a revival. Her heroines are aesthetes in their reaction to antiquity, her heroes steeped in typically male classical education, which allows for a gendered response shared with many of Radcliffe's contemporaries. For Radcliffe, the classical world is something with which to contrast her heroine's emotional responses.[8] Her famous Gothic novel *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) has some echoes of Apuleius: her lonely but brave heroine Emily St Aubert, who knows Latin, undergoes Psyche-like quests in various castles, where she, for example, hears disembodied music and voices (chapters 1.6; 2.1, etc),[9] while her lover Valancourt, who owns Latin and Greek texts in his library, has very different manifestations, as a suitor at first, but, after leaving the plot for the best part of the centre of the novel, as a rogue and a spendthrift, and finally as a reformed considerate lover. The bliss of their final union is symbolized by the massive personal wealth given to the couple by Valancourt's relieved relatives, a novelistic version of Psyche's apotheosis. Emily finds herself, learns to distinguish fiction from reality through her trials, and grows through the experience into her lover's equal. Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1796–7) has a similarly unequal couple, and the hero's mother tries to abduct the heroine in order to prevent the couple's union, a possible echo of the role of Apuleius' Venus.

Jane Austen (1775–1817) famously parodied Ann Radcliffe's and other popular Gothic novels in *Northanger Abbey* (completed 1803, first published 1817), a book quite different from the nowadays much more popular and frequently adapted *Emma*, *Pride and Prejudice*, or *Sense and Sensibility*. There is no evidence that Austen read Apuleius, but Austen uses Radcliffe, and through her the story pattern of Cupid and Psyche, to throw her naive heroine Catherine Morland into seemingly dangerous situations that resolve painlessly and are, despite Catherine's imaginations, neither threatening nor Gothic; Psyche-like, Catherine is driven by curiosity (chapters 21; 24).[10] More generally, Psyche becomes a model for a specifically female Gothic heroine, where the male hero is, like Cupid, at first beastly and rough, but then is soon discovered to be kind, and the passive yet persisting heroine finds herself fulfilled and magnified in the union with him.[11] The subgenre of 'Female Gothic' includes, beside Radcliffe, also Mary Shelley, and encapsulates the phenomenon of female, often middle-class, authors writing for a primarily female readership, even though men clearly read these novels, too.[12] Many contemporary novels followed this set-up.

In the period's popular sentimental and romantic novels, too, often written by female authors, C&P could become a ready parallel for entrapped and endangered heroines.[13] A further example is Charlotte (Turner) Smith's (1749–1806) sentimental–Gothic novel *The Old Manor House* (1793).[14] It features young Orlando Somerive, the poor relation of an old heiress, and the Psyche-like naive orphan Monimia, the niece of the heiress's companion, growing up together, both exceedingly beautiful. As timid and lonely Monimia, who is explicitly called the 'soul' (ii. 29)[15] of the titular Rayland Hall, is locked into a tower at night, their love and Orlando's nightly visits take place in secrecy and darkness to ensure that the overbearing old lady does not find out. Like Psyche, Monimia is simple and innocent (the novel's first volume has about twenty references to her innocence, and about six to her simplicity).[16] The lovers are separated as Orlando joins the war against American independence in 1776, and Monimia is thrown into virtuous poverty, until he finds her again and secretly marries her, against his mother's explicit wishes (shades of Venus) and unbeknownst to his family, in Guernsey (iv. 251). He secretively establishes her in London, where she soon falls pregnant. The novel ends

with the family reconciled and reunited, and the couple installed as the rightful heirs of Rayland Hall, and the birth of their son, which clearly echoes the last chapter of Apuleius' C&P.

Smith includes one specific reference to C&P in ii. 117, where Miss Holbourn, a highly educated yet foolish rival of Monimia's (with shades of Lucius), 'explained to the two Miss Somerives the Loves of Cupid and Psyche, which were painted on the wall' in her desire to show off 'her universal knowledge', since 'the story [was] not very clearly told by a painter'. The mural's opacity invites further exploration of C&P as the novel's backbone. Fletcher, who sees the building and its inhabitants as an emblematic depiction of England and the various classes, rightly notes that the mural is reminiscent of 'Orlando's midnight visits to Monimia' as an allusion to the novel's romantic plot line,[17] but the allusions to C&P, as we have seen, go beyond this single scene. Additionally, there are sideways glances at other Apuleian motifs, as Orlando's sister Isabella barely escapes marriage to an old man with gout (ii. 74; contrast Psyche's older sister at *Met*. 5.10), and Monimia is self-aware of her fictional role: 'He saw in me a poor, deserted heroine of a novel' (iv. 243). Orlando even composes an 'Ode to Poverty', just as Apuleius did in a prose encomium in *Apol*. 17–23, and finally, just as Apuleius and Lucius famously merge in the reference to *Madaurensem* in *Met*. 11.27, towards the end of Smith's novel, a middle-aged female writer making money with her poetry is gently satirized—Smith herself published under her own name, which was unusual for the time, sonnets and novels to keep the family finances afloat.

It is, however, poetry that popularizes Apuleius and C&P in the Romantic period, buoyed by an important translation in prose with Neoplatonist leanings (Thomas Taylor) and two important verse adaptations (by Gurney and Tighe).[18] The 1744 translation of La Fontaine's adaptation by John Lockman was also available, and more translations were privately published for circulation among friends and family.[19] Attempts to adapt Apuleius' prose into poetic metres may have been driven by the desire to heighten the status of the story, but perhaps also by contemporary ideas that an originally Greek, possibly epic, version may have been lost; heroic couplets, the metre of Dryden's translation of Vergil's *Aeneid* (1697), were an especially popular medium. An anonymous translation with a preface signed by J.P.H., for example, from 1816 and with thirteen engravings based on drawings by Gravelot, was published privately and is an indication

of the story's popularity among the wider public.[20] The little book in three parts, which however do not replicate Apuleius' book divisions, tells the story astonishingly faithfully, largely in heroic couplets.[21] The author's anonymity probably facilitated the retention of the more lurid plot details so often excluded in other adaptations of this and previous periods: Psyche's pregnancy and her suicide attempts as well as her revenge on her sisters are included. Venus' hiring of Mercury and his proclamation of Psyche as a runaway slave are, however, much shortened, with both the promise of indecent kisses toned down and the Roman detail removed. It is prefaced with extracts in Greek from Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 446, Plato's *Phaedrus*, and Hermias. A poem combined out of Statius' *Silvae* 5.1.137 and Prudentius' *Peristephanon* 9.106 to warn against the envy of gods introduces the first part in Latin, Propertius 2.25.27 the second part.

The preface suggests that the author is a theologian, as he supports the thesis of Bishop Warburton[22] that Apuleius is primarily a Platonist and thus inimical to Christianity, and that C&P is a Platonist allegory to exhort the readers to live a better life (pp. vii–x), which he prefers to Børge Thorlacius'[23] judgement that the story is entirely frivolous and intended to improve marital relationships and fidelity (pp. x–xii). J.P.H. adds a free translation of Fulgentius 3.6 as proof of the allegorical nature of the story (pp. xiv–xvi). Nothing gives away the translator's identity. The preface and the translation both exemplify the period's desire to Platonize the text while also allowing some focus on the female lived experience of Psyche. The translation follows the story closely from the beginning, and the heroic couplets are regular though not artful. For example, the description of Psyche and her sisters is a little plodding:

> Lovely was each! yet still it is agreed,
> Though fair, the elder twain do not exceed
> Description's pencil; but the youngest maid
> What words can paint?
>
> (p. 3)

The story is embellished with classical knowledge: Rumour has added 'discursive wings' (p. 4) when informing everyone that Venus is outclassed by a mortal girl (echoes of Verg. *Aen*. 4.180–1), and the authorial exclamation 'Ah blest, and more than doubly blest are they | —Whose

happy footsteps press the rich inlay!' (p. 13) about Cupid's palace echoes Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.94.

Direct speech is much expanded, including Venus' commands to Cupid to make Psyche marry someone of low birth, although she treats Cupid in a more motherly way here by merely embracing rather than kissing him ('She spoke, and in her arms the urchin prest, | And fondly strain'd him to her anxious breast' (p. 7)). Psyche finds herself embraced by death when Zephyr breathes life back into her and delivers her to a beautiful landscape and Cupid's palace. Her unseen husband consummates the marriage, described clearly yet coyly ('The bridegroom comes, who mounting by her side, | Opes his fond arms, and clasps his trembling bride' (p. 16)), and even the pregnancy is acknowledged:

> Soon will thy womb's maturing throe
> Call forth a mother's tear,
> And a new inmate bless our home,
> Thy solitude to cheer.
>
> (p. 28)

It is her loneliness and depression ('forlorn, deprest' (p. 19)) that persuade Cupid to let the sisters visit Psyche.

The second part starts with Psyche's delight in her pregnancy and the sisters' return (p. 31). The focus throughout the poem is on Psyche's emotions, especially her loneliness in her marriage despite her love for her husband and her joyful anticipation of her child. Psyche's mental turmoil is detailed and graphic ('Lost is her reason, and her bosom burns' (p. 40)), and the ecphrasis of the sleeping Cupid is sensuous and remarkably close to Apuleius' language; but the wounding with Cupid's arrow does not start love in Psyche as it does in Apuleius. Instead, the focus is on what will happen next ('And her own act has Psyche doom'd to prove | The galling fetters of offended Love' (p. 42)). The wounded Cupid leaves her and stresses that it is his absence that is her punishment. Even her attempted suicides feature in the poem, as she 'seeks oblivion in the passing stream' (p. 44). Venus, immediately after shouting at Cupid, asks Ceres and Juno whether they have seen Psyche (p. 51); they warn Venus to be more circumspect in her outpourings, again with a focus on the proper behaviour of mothers to their children: 'A prudent mother would the frailty hide, | Not her own foibles in her offspring chide' (p. 52).

Venus' angry departure ends the second part, and the third and last starts with a Latin elegy composed of couplets from Tibullus and Propertius[24] to indicate Cupid's involvement in helping Psyche complete her labours, including meeting with Cerberus, and hints at a happy ending. As Psyche finds and tidies Ceres' and Juno's temples, both goddesses tell her that Venus is searching for her. After Mercury's much shortened proclamation, Psyche rushes to find Venus and surrenders to her handmaidens (p. 62), is flogged, and has to undertake her four tasks. Jupiter is more involved than in Apuleius, as he grants permission both to Mercury on Venus' entreaty to act as the goddess' messenger, and it is he who sends his eagle to aid Psyche in her third task ('But Jove, whose watchful eye o'er all extends, | A sudden succour, moved by pity, sends' (p. 68)); his eagle is thrilled to help out. The tower's instructions ominously add advice not to open Proserpina's box out of curiosity, thus making Psyche's subsequent action more explicitly transgressive and naive ('But above all, let no inducement win | Thy curious mind to search the box within' (p. 72)). Similarly devoid of literary ambiguity is Psyche's fate once she opens the box; she clearly dies (p. 73) but is resurrected by Cupid. Their wedding and eternal bliss are completed by the birth of their daughter Pleasure.

The availability of translations familiarized more readers in the early nineteenth century with the story, which popularized Platonic approaches to the plot, as well as allowing a further focus on Psyche and her particularly feminine experience of love. The story's popularity stretched across various media, from satire to clothing: the satirist James Gillray (1756–1815), for example, engraved a satirical version of the famous Marlborough gem of the childlike pair Cupid and Psyche's wedding in 1797 to deride the marriage of the elderly Lord Derby, with an obese Cupid and a much taller Psyche.[25] Fashion plates from 1802 and 1811 suggest dresses 'à la Psyche' to the fashion-conscious women of the time, where one breast was covered in a white robe, and the other in the more colourful material of the rest of the garment, in an imitation of draped Greek statues with one exposed breast.[26] Periodicals published for consumption by male and more and more female readers, with short poems and accompanying illustrations, was another way the plot and iconography of C&P were distributed widely. This familiarity spread widely from the elite to the middle classes, and many more women were included in C&P's readers as well as writers.

A long and influential article in the *Liberal* of 1823 discussed Apuleius and his Platonism in detail. Although the article was published anonymously, it is generally attributed to Shelley's close friend and fellow atheist Thomas Jefferson Hogg (1792–1862).[27] It contained the well-known blend of fiction and reality known from prefaces to Apuleius—for example, identifying his mother as Salvia, descendant of Plutarch (p. 153), thus conflating Lucius and Apuleius. Hogg clearly admires Apuleius and his beauty, identifying his style as 'Dandy Advocate' and the author as a 'universal genius' (p. 158). The essay summarizes and at times cites in Latin and in translation from *Apologia* and *Metamorphoses*, and is a eulogy of Apuleius' life and Platonic writings, inviting modern readers to read him for pleasure and knowledge, and as something to which they can compare their own lives. Because of its content, Hogg notes, women can read C&P: 'the story of Cupid and Psyche is not only one uniform piece of loveliness, but is so delicate (even in the modern and least estimable sense of the word) that it might be read at school by a class of young ladies' (p. 173)—some praise indeed, and no doubt this contributed to women readers and writers allowing themselves to read and enjoy the story. Percy Bysshe Shelley, for instance, encouraged his wife to read C&P (see below on both). Both Platonism and a female readership become prominent features in this period.

Thomas Taylor (1758–1835), the eccentric Platonist, translated Cupid and Psyche on its own, fairly closely to the original, in 1795, and the complete *Metamorphoses* in 1822. Although there was an ongoing interest in the immortality of the soul throughout the eighteenth century, it was Taylor who led the charge in the revival of Platonism in this period, and in the focus on the Platonic elements in the story.[28] His preface presents Apuleius as an exponent of Middle Platonism, and his interpretation of C&P as 'the lapse of the human soul from the intelligible world to the earth'[29] relies heavily here on the *Phaedrus*, although he does not follow the charioteer allegory in 246a–254e exactly. There the charioteer represents reason, and the two horses the appetitive and the rational part of the soul; Taylor instead identifies Psyche as Reason, and her two sisters as Imagination and Nature, who urge Psyche to look at Cupid, a desire that taints her.[30] This, as we have seen (see Chapter 1), is in the Platonist tradition; Fulgentius, *Mythologies* 3.6, identified the sisters as Flesh and Free Will, and Martianus Capella and Boccaccio feature similar

allegories.[31] Taylor sees Psyche as an allegory of the soul, which, when she is delivered by Zephyrus into the valley of Cupid's palace, descends from her divine abode into mortal surroundings. As the palace has divine origins, the soul never entirely loses touch with its divinity. Psyche's travails are the sufferings of the divine soul inside the mortal body, searching for reunification with her divine origin.[32]

Taylor's moving in literary circles ensured his version of the story became prominent among contemporary thinkers. He was acquainted, for example, with Thomas Love Peacock, Mary Wollstonecraft, William Blake, and possibly Percy Bysshe Shelley, and his works were read by Romantics such as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Shelley.[33] Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) was well versed in ancient, especially Greek, poetry and literature such as Homer and tragedy, which he discussed actively throughout his life.[34] A mystic and increasingly religious, Coleridge read 'the beautiful Parable of Cupid and Psyche [which] was brought forward as a *rival* FALL OF MAN' though a Christian lens.[35] Although interested, like most Romantics, in the nature of the soul, immanent or transcendental, and its interactions with the eternal divine, Coleridge mentions Psyche only once by name in his poetry, in 'Psyche' (1808).[36]

> The butterfly the ancient Grecians made
> The soul's fair emblem, and its only name—
> But of the soul, escaped the slavish trade
> Of mortal life!—For in this earthly frame
> Ours is the reptile's lot, much toil, much blame,
> Manifold motions making little speed,
> And to deform and kill the things whereon we feed.

The poem should be read against the background of the interests of the Romantic poets (alongside Wordsworth's 'Immortality Ode') in (Neo-)Platonism and the immortality of the soul, a pairing that is not incompatible with Christianity. This is inspired by Plato's portrait of the soul's transcendence in *Phaedo* but involves a scenario where humans do not learn via *anamnesis* (recollection) but move further away when they grow older from the original knowledge with which the soul was imbued, a process that itself becomes the nature and birth of poetry.[37] In *Phaedrus* 246a–b Plato defines the soul as tripartite, with reason directing the other, passionate and spirited, aspects of the soul. For Coleridge, the Platonic ideology of the soul's transcendence is areligious, an expression of poetic

imagination instead. Coleridge's imagery evokes specifically Plato's *Phaedo* 82d–83a and *Gorgias* 492e93a, where Socrates defines the body (*soma*) as a tomb (*sema*) for the soul. In 'Psyche' he replaces the image of the body with that of a 'reptile', or rather a hungry caterpillar that encapsulates the butterfly before it is set free, and that is obsessed with earthly things that amount to little importance. Coleridge may here echo his contemporary, the naturalist Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), who had popularized the image of caterpillar as life, pupa as death, and butterfly as the soul, and who had seen Psyche, quite un-Platonically, as 'the embodiment of fulfilled sexual love, a proof that there is sexual happiness in Heaven'.[38] The association of soul and butterfly is, of course, ancient.[39]

Coleridge often glossed his poems, and he prefaced this one with a note with 'the fact that in Greek "Psyche" is the common name for the soul, and the butterfly',[40] an observation shared by other Romantic poets, such as Keats (on Keats, see below). It is typical for Coleridge's poetry of the period, which explores the physical pain and hopelessness of the human condition.[41]

The Platonic imagery is ubiquitous and precedes Taylor, ranging from the *Night-Thoughts* (published 1742–5) of the 'graveyard poet' Edward Young (1683–1765), where 'Death but entombs the Body; Life the Soul',[42] to the poem 'Hatred and vengeance, my eternal portion' of William Cowper (1731–1800); written after his 1763 mental breakdown, this ends in a desperate 'I, fed with judgement, in a fleshy tomb, am | Buried above ground'. Coleridge admired Cowper immensely and was also interested in the nature of the soul itself. His *Theory of Life* (written 1816, published after his death)[43] sought to 'reconcile matter and spirit, soul and the body',[44] in a Neoplatonist manner, which, in his case, also had a strong religious undertone.

Platonism and Neoplatonism are main features of Romanticism and its ideology, and especially from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, where the body is considered as mortal, and the soul as immortal and immaterial.[45] Coleridge is a Neoplatonist, whose vision of the soul goes hand in hand with his poetic imagination.[46] This is also driven by Plato's *Symposium*, where the real understanding of beauty and therefore the divine is a creative act: it is the soul that enables us to view and understand true beauty (*Symp.* 211b–c). Apuleius' most beautiful Psyche, therefore, is a natural metaphor

for Neoplatonist poets to describe their creative process and imagination. ‘Psyche’ becomes a shorthand for the poet’s desires, imagination, and yearning for immortality beyond the material body.

2. Hudson Gurney, *Cupid and Psyche*

Soon after Taylor’s translation of Cupid and Psyche, the story’s poetic and feminine connotations were reinforced when, in 1799, the antiquarian, politician, and banker Hudson Gurney (1775–1864) anonymously published a short verse adaptation entitled *Cupid and Psyche: A Mythological Tale from the ‘Golden Ass’ of Apuleius*.[47] It was so popular that further editions followed quickly (2nd: 1800, 3rd: 1801).[48] The first had no introduction at all, but the third edition, for example, had a brief preface in which the author (still anonymous) notes that it was a female acquaintance who suggested the subject to him,[49] as ‘peculiarly susceptible of poetical embellishment’, and stresses Apuleius’ Platonist and Mystic credentials. He shows off his classical learning here by noting that Apuleius had here ‘substitut[ed] the person and attributes of Cupid the son of Venus, for those of the elder Cupid, born of the egg of Night and coeval with Chaos’.[50] The poem’s 812 lines are composed mostly in tetrameter quatrains (ABAB), sometimes turning to trochaic trimeter quatrains (AABB) when the characters break into direct speech,[51] and begin with the frame of the robbers’ caretaker telling the story to Charite to soothe her; the third edition, accordingly, features a simplified print of the *Master of the Die* engraving of the scene.[52]

Gurney’s version follows the plot, but changes quite a few details—for example by adding direct apostrophes by the author to the characters and personifications (Venus addressed (p. 14), Sleep (p. 21), Psyche in her deathly sleep as ‘Ill- fated maid!’ (p. 56)), extending direct speeches, or including an ecphrasis of personalized Time (pp. 18–19). Telling modernizations include the hint that Psyche on the rock (*Met*. 4.35) was drugged with opium, or possibly laudanum, the opiate to which many contemporaries such as Coleridge or Elizabeth Barrett Browning were addicted.[53]

> Thou now o’er Psyche’s fluttering soul

> Benignly shedst thine opiate charms;
> Spell-bound she owns thy mild control
> Soft cradled in thy downy arms,
>
> (p. 21)

The wedding night is described quite coyly (‘The dreaded husband claims his bride, | And folds her in his eager arms!’ (p. 24)). The mysterious husband is not explicitly identified, but described as invisible to her (p. 26) and called the ‘unknown’ (e.g. p. 34), until the reader discovers his identity at the same time as Psyche, when she holds the lamp over his sleeping body:

> And gazes on the GOD OF LOVE!
> Not such a young and frolic child
> As poets feign, or sculptors plan;
> No, no, she sees, with transport wild,
> Eternal beauty veild in man.
>
> (p. 36)

Before the sisters’ visits about halfway through his poem, Gurney adds a gnomic observation, on human nature with its wilful blindness to danger:

> Gaily we launch our little bark,
> The sun-beams on the waters play,
> While close behind the ravenous shark
> Expecting waits his destin’d prey.
>
> (p. 28)

Psyche’s dialogue with her sisters (the concealed sharks) follows rather abruptly, with little context provided.

It is notable that Gurney exoticizes Psyche’s lies about Cupid’s nature to her sisters: she keeps the secret of his identity in her heart like an ‘oriental pearl’, and his riches exceed ‘All India’s inexhausted mines’ (pp. 29, 31). This is the kind of orientalism that both Tighe and Morris will later also associate with Cupid’s palace, a reflection of the ongoing interest of England’s population in India now increasingly under the rule of the East India Company. Similarly, Apuleius’ white bird (*gavia*, possibly a seagull (*Met*. 5.28)) becomes a more exotic, and Romantic, albatross (p. 43)—Coleridge’s ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’ had only been published in 1798.[54] On the other hand, Gurney may have misunderstood the *metae Murtiae* (*Met*. 6.8), which indicate a slightly seedy rendezvous spot for

Roman lovers, since he locates them as the nearby Murtian temple of Venus instead (p. 46).[55]

After Psyche has burnt Cupid with the lamp, he flees wordlessly and quickly; there is no allusion to Plato, but a detailed description of Psyche's despair, even hinting at her suicide attempts in her delirium, which are stopped by Pan (pp. 39–40). Gurney's Psyche is, however, innocent of initiating her sisters' deaths, as they have already died, alongside her parents, by the time she reaches their houses (p. 42). When performing her four tasks for Venus (again quite allusively described as if for readers familiar with the plot), it is not a helpful reed but an invisible 'heavenly voice' (p. 48), quite possibly Cupid himself, who tells her what to do. When Psyche opens Persephone's box, she dies, without ambiguity (compare J.P.H. above), but Cupid resurrects her and presents her to Jupiter, who grants her immortality. The last stanza announces the birth of their daughter, Pleasure, 'With eye of laughter, soul of flame' (p. 59).

Gurney's on the whole faithful, beautiful, and popular version no doubt had lasting influence on nineteenth-century readers, adding a poetic strand of reception to Taylor's Platonist one.

3. William Blake

Blake (1757–1827), artist, poet, and religious visionary, was acquainted with Taylor, with whom he was working closely in the last two decades of the eighteenth century;[56] he was a friend of the sculptor John Flaxman (1755–1826)[57] and illustrated for Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97), with whom he shared some ideas on the equality between the sexes and free love.[58] He was influenced by Platonic ideas and those of Emanuel Swedenborg,[59] with whom he engaged critically. Blake approximated the soul to imagination as the creative force in the world and believed that body and soul are not distinct from each other, with the body merely being an extension of the soul.

Blake knew C&P very well. He created a series of engravings of C&P for his friend George Cumberland's (1754–1848) *Thoughts on Outline* (1796),[60] and, in his notes on *A Vision of the Last Judgment* (1808), Blake documents his admiration for Apuleius as containing 'Vision in a Sublime

degree'.[61] As opposed to the Romantics with their duality of body and soul, Blake conceives of human nature as consisting of four parts or energies in his prophetic major work *Vala, or The Four Zoas* (started 1797, unfinished): Imagination (Urthona/Los), Reason/Law (Urizen), Passion (Luvah/Orc), and Body/Instinct (Tharmas).[62] These energies also have emanations (their female counterparts), such as Enitharmon, the emanation of Los.

C&P's characters and associations are integrated into this Blakean system: Vala and Luvah resemble Psyche and Cupid, as Luvah represents love and passion, and Vala, his female emanation, denotes the Soul, yearning for her divine maker.[63] In Blake's mythology, the Soul is permanent and immortal, and Vala needs to find her place in the world, in ways that echo Psyche's experiences. Luvah had given Vala a beautiful palace and garden (the body for the soul to inhabit) himself, (*The Four Zoas* 9.129 = Erdman 1988: 397):

> 'And when he [= Luvah] laid his hand upon me from the gates of sleep I came
> Into this bodily house to tend my flocks in my pleasant garden.'
>
> (*The Four Zoas*, 9.129 = Erdman 1988: 397)

> Then Luvah passed by & saw the sinless Soul
> And said Let a pleasant house arise to be the dwelling place
> Of this immortal Spirit growing in lower Paradise
> He spoke & pillars were builded & walls as white as ivory
>
> (*The Four Zoas*, 9.128 = Erdman 1988: 397)

In her garden, invisible servants provide food and entertainment for Vala, and Luvah himself is invisible to her: 'Invisible Luvah in bright clouds hoverd over Valas head' (*The Four Zoas*, 9.126 = Erdman 1988: 395).

Vala is instructed by this invisible god to take action: 'Rise sluggish Soul why sitst though here why dost thou sit & weep' (*The Four Zoas*, 9.127 = Erdman 1988: 396)). But like Psyche (and most of Blake's emanations), Vala falls, is separated from Luvah due to her fallen state, and wanders through the world looking for him:

> 'Seeking to comfort Vala, she will not be comforted
> She rises from his throne and seeks the shadows of her garden
> Weeping for Luvah lost,'
> (*The Four Zoas*, 1.11 = Erdman 1988: 306)
> Why shouldst thou hide thyself from Vala from the soul that wanders desolate
>
> (*The Four Zoas*, 9.129 = Erdman 1988: 398)

They are reunited when Luvah (who can sometimes appear in the form of a snake, an echo of Cupid's serpentine imagery in Apuleius) awakens her, and both are joined together happily in the end in a 'Golden Feast'.

Blake, deeply influenced by Taylor's readings of Plato, here arguably uses the *soma/sema* imagery of the soul housed in the body.[64] Vala as the Soul is to be united with her Creator, and Blake tells this love story inspired by Cupid and Psyche. Blake's illustrations confirm this. For example, Vala, uniquely among Blake's entities, has wings and is the most beautiful.[65] She is specifically portrayed as a girl with butterfly wings on the title page of Blake's *Jerusalem*.[66]

Other Blakean entities are similarly associated with C&P. In *The Four Zoas* (9.132 = Erdman 1988: 1), Enion anticipates her reunion with Tharmas in Apuleian imagery of rebirth, with moth images replacing the Apuleian butterfly:[67]

> '…Soon renewed a Golden Moth
> I shall cast off my death clothes & Embrace Tharmas again.'

For Blake, the changes in circumstances of his entities and emanations, their deaths, falls, and revivals, can be expressed in Apuleian imagery, where the story's happy ending becomes the expression of the human condition and the need for man and woman to become one.

Chayes 2017 argues convincingly that C&P had an ongoing important influence on Blake, from his earliest poem 'How Sweet I Roamed from Field to Field',[68] where the speaker is Psyche, talking about her Cupid, in a sensually and evocative and cruel text, where the speaker's lover 'stretches out [her] golden wing' in the last stanza. Blake's poetry is full of lovers torturing and harming each other, and he may well have been attracted to images of Psyche and Cupid doing so, too, as seen on the gems in Spence's *Polymetis* (1747).[69] Chayes points to several female figures with butterfly wings, often arising from graves or bodies, in Blake's iconography over the years, which seem to identify her with the Soul and new life.[70]

Additionally, Blake's short poem 'Why Was Cupid a Boy' (manuscript in notebook *c.*1809–11 = Erdman 1988: 479) argues playfully that Cupid should have been made a girl instead because of his reckless nature. The last stanza (no. 5) reads:

> Twas the Greeks love of war

> Turnd Love into a Boy,
> And Woman into a Statue of Stone—
> And away fled every Joy.

Blake's manuscripts[71] capitalize many nouns, so too here 'Joy', but the poem is also accompanied by a picture of Cupid flying away from a precipice while being held by his foot by a desperate person. The image together with the poem ending in 'Joy' create an Apuleian association, as both are reminiscent of C&P—namely, both the story's ending in the birth of Pleasure and the famous 'Platonist' scene where Psyche clings to Cupid's foot in desperation (*Met*. 5.24). Chayes, who does not discuss this poem, points out that the poem 'Infant Joy' (published 1789) with its allegorization of the name and mother and daughter plot points to Apuleius' Voluptas, especially since the accompanying illustration includes a girl with butterfly wings.[72] Imagery and poems working together create a pattern of constant engagement with C&P throughout Blake's life's work. All this indicates that Cupid and Psyche as a myth of the body and the divine soul, especially with a Platonist flavour, had a special impact on Blake's thinking throughout his career.

4. Thomas Love Peacock, *Rhododaphne*

Another imaginative adaptation of Apuleius is *Rhododaphne or Thessalian Spell* (published 1818), by Thomas Love Peacock (1785–1866), in seven cantos. Peacock's preface cites *Met*. 2.1 on Hypata and Thessalian witchcraft at great length (Peacock 1818: pp. v–vi), alongside a brisk overview of Thessalian magic in ancient sources; notes to the text illustrate his learnedness.[73] Just as Keats was to do shortly after in *Lamia*, Peacock inverted the gender of the protagonists of C&P, with Anthemion, a young beautiful Arcadian shepherd coming to Eros' temple in Thespia to pray for the health of his beloved Callirhoe; a mysterious beauty gives him flowers that do not fade as a sacrifice to Love, and he becomes fixated on her and forgets Callirhoe; even a stranger's warning that these flowers, laurel roses (the poisonous rhododaphne),[74] are hateful to Love and grown in Larissa (a haunt of Thessalian witches in *Met*. 1.7 and 2.21), does not shake him out of his reverie. The stranger describes Thessalian women as beautiful

witches with cosmic powers reminiscent of those in the *Metamorphoses* (p. 46), and the only way to unbind the beautiful woman's spell on Anthemion is to throw her flowers into a river; when he does this, he hears disembodied voices and music.[75] Enchanted, he approaches a temple of the Muses, where the girl reveals herself as the divine nymph Rhododaphne (p. 71), and shows her magical powers over him despite his reluctance:

> 'Dream'st thou of Magic? of the power
> 'That makes the blood of life run chill,
> 'And shakes the world with daemon skill?
> 'Beauty is Magic; grave and song'
>
> (pp. 74–5)

Only the thought of Callirhoe makes him try to escape home, where he finds his bride, apparently healthy. But as soon as he kisses her, she fades and dies, struck by Rhododaphne's spell:

> Oh! he has kissed Callirhoe's lips!
> And with the touch the maid grew pale
>
> (p. 96)

Anthemion flees in terror and wanders through Greece until kidnapped by pirates; on their boat he finds Rhododaphne, also their prisoner. Her songs make the pirate ship sink, but Anthemion is saved by her and brought ashore, where he repudiates her love even as she leaves him alone in a lonely cottage, which, by enchantment, turns into a sumptuous palace with talking statues and delicious food. Invisible servants provide music and food. He and Rhododaphne share many nights together in this palace 'by daemon art adorned' (p. 146; echoes of Cupid's palace), despite Anthemion's regret.

One day, the palace fades around them, and one of the statues comes alive as Love and kills Rhododaphne with his arrow; the palace disappears, and he (alongside the nymph's body) finds himself again near Callirhoe's home. The door opens, and Callirhoe comes out and embraces him lovingly. They bury Rhododaphne and live happily ever after. The young shepherd takes on Psyche's role of naive innocence, and the enchantress Rhododaphne, the owner of a palace in Thessaly that magically dissolves, has clear Cupid-like features. Peacock successfully manages to integrate elements of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole into his C&P plot, in many

ways reflecting Apuleius' use of C&P as mise en abyme and echo of Lucius' own story.

5. Mary Tighe, *Psyche or the Legend of Love*

Much earlier than Hogg's encouragement (see Introduction) but after Gurney's hint at his female readership (see Section 3), the Irish poet Mary Tighe read and adapted C&P, and in her wake came a flurry of further female writers. One of the most influential women intellectuals interested in Psyche of the period, who has recently been the subject of renewed scholarly interest, Tighe (1772–1810) first published her poem *Psyche or the Legend of Love*, in six cantos of Spenzerian stanzas, privately in 1805. It was distributed more widely posthumously in 1811.[76] Despite her claim that she is 'indebted [to Apuleius] for the outline of [her] tale in the two first cantos' (Tighe 1811: p. xiii), her knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* stretches beyond the 'beautiful ancient allegory of Love and the Soul' to the whole of the novel, and she could and did read Latin.[77] Throughout her poem, Tighe was cautious to associate herself with only the more genteel and non-sexual elements of the story in her role as a female author.[78] There are indications in the poem that Tighe, despite her denials, had read the whole of the *Metamorphoses*, and woven some of its plot details into her poem.[79]

The poem begins *in medias res*, as in canto 1 Psyche wanders through a wilderness alone, after her 'fatal error' (p. 9) of looking at Cupid deprived her of his company and palace, and in flashbacks the poem looks back at her time wooed by many princes as a timid beauty. Venus is still jealous of Psyche, though her interaction with Cupid is naturally less sexualized when she orders him to punish Psyche (p. 16).[80] Cupid obediently visits two fountains, the dark fountain of sorrow and the ambrosial one of joyous desire (pp. 18–19), from which he fills two vases, intending the water of grief for Psyche (p. 20). But, when he spots Psyche asleep in her chamber and gives her a drop of anguish as ordered by his mother (pp. 21–2), he is smitten by her beauty and nicks her gently with his arrow, and then, almost accidentally, wounds himself with it too (p. 23) in a scene that imitates Apuleius' language of how Psyche wounds herself at the sight of Cupid in *Met.* 5.23.[81]

> The dart which in his hand now trembling stood,
> As o’er the couch he bent with ravished eye,
> Drew with its daring point celestial blood
> From his smooth neck’s unblemished ivory.

Tighe here cleverly inverts Psyche’s transgressive gaze and self-wounding.[82] Cupid then adds some joyous water of desire for Psyche, too. Psyche, in a half-awake state, sees Cupid (‘Nor was it quite a dream, for as she woke, | Ere heavenly mists concealed him from her eye’ (p. 25)), which leads to a mutual falling in love at the same time, different from Apuleius’ timescale but suitable for a romantic poem.[83]

When Psyche is transported to Cupid’s palace on the island of Pleasure (p. 28), disembodied voices guide and entertain her (p. 31) and announce ‘immortal joys’ and marriage for her. On her wedding night, Psyche recognizes Cupid as the person from her dream (‘’tis my deliverer!’ (p. 35)). After a time of bliss, like a contemporary newlywed, Psyche leaves the palace briefly to visit her parents with Cupid’s permission (p. 39; canto 2, p. 47), and Cupid, whose name Psyche does not know, predicts an immortal baby boy to be born to them (p. 40). Already at several points in the first canto, Cupid has promised always to protect her (‘“Unseen, I may securely guard thy ways, | And save thee from the threatened storm of woe”’ (p. 40), putting into words a sentiment he first thought on p. 27)—a promise that plays out from canto 3 to the end of the poem.

In canto 2, the sisters, whose deaths are never mentioned, trick the simple Psyche into believing she is married to an evil sorcerer; Psyche is very reluctant to obey their command to kill him, and when she sees Cupid asleep, she wakes him by accidentally dropping the lamp she was holding (p. 58 ‘from her trembling hand extinguished falls | The fatal lamp’ (p. 58)); as she is already in love, there is no need for her to touch his weapons. Instead, she faints and is immediately transported into the desert of the first lines of the poem, where she laments her fate as the flashback ends. She suddenly then hears the disembodied voice of Cupid (p. 62), who assures her of his undying love and promises her that they will be reunited as soon as she has appeased Venus. A priest of Ammon tells Psyche that she needs to ‘place an urn | Filled from immortal Beauty’s sacred spring’ (p. 66) on an altar of Venus to achieve this, which thus conflates Apuleius’ four tasks into one of ladylike simplicity.[84]

Thus sent on a quest, Psyche acquires helpful companions: a dove symbolizing Innocence (p. 68), and in the following cantos 3 to 6 a mysterious knight who is Cupid in disguise, his attendant Constance, and a lion symbolizing Passion. The knight's visor is lowered, so Psyche does not know his identity until much later in the poem, in a clever echo of Apuleius' Psyche, who is unable to see her husband's features during their stay in Cupid's palace. In a *psychomachia* full of allegories, Psyche's challenges are entirely internalized, as Psyche alongside her entourage now explores the nature of love by encountering (and leaving behind) allegories such as Loose Delight, Vanity, Flattery, Suspicion, Jealousy, Chastity, Indifference, and many others, learning on her journey what true love means. Apuleius, of course, had seeded such opportunities already with personifications such as Sobrietas and Consuetudo as handmaidens of Venus (*Met.* 6.9), but Tighe makes these personifications the central characters of her poem. Like a mediaeval knight on a quest in this Spenserian poem, Cupid-in-disguise pledges allegiance to Psyche and supports her for much of her journey, and Psyche realizes in a dream instigated by Jealousy who he is: ‘'Twas Love! 'twas Love himself, her own adored Love' (canto 3, p. 134).

In the end, they sail to the shore of the fountain of Beauty, where Constance fetches the vessel from an eagle's eyrie for her (p. 204), reminiscent of Psyche's third task, which involves help from Jupiter's eagle (*Met*. 6.15), and Love and Psyche embrace. A reconciled Venus appears and announces happily that Jupiter has made Psyche immortal (p. 208), embracing her with a delighted mother-in-law's welcome, looking forward to future grandchildren (‘young Joys'):

> With fond embrace she clasped her long lost son,
> And gracefully received his lovely bride,
> ‘Psyche! thou hardly[85] hast my favour won!'
> With roseate smile her heavenly parent cried,
> ‘Yet hence thy charms immortal, deified,
> ‘With the young Joys, thy future offspring fair,
> ‘Shall bloom for ever at thy lover's side;
> ‘All ruling Jove's high mandate I declare,
> ‘Blest denizen of Heaven! arise its joys to share.'

The poem ends not with the birth of a child, but with the poet's sad farewell to the Muses and her own inspiration, in quite disturbing metaphors of

death and doom. Tighe's own life was blighted by tuberculosis and an unhappy and childless marriage, and the refocus on her own experience in the poem's last lines invites the reader to explore the antithesis between Psyche's eternal bliss and Tighe's fading visions and life:

> The path my Psyche treads no more for me;
> Consigned to dark oblivion's silent tomb
> The visionary scenes no more I see,
> Fast from the fading lines the vivid colours flee!
>
> (canto 6, p. 209)

Tighe's Psyche is an innocent society beauty with whom her readers can identify. The courtship between her and Cupid is exemplary in its mutual affection and in the aid the god provides for his mortal lover to grow and learn about life and love on her own terms. In scenes of heightened sensitivity and emotion, Psyche learns what love is like and which responsibilities it entails. Tighe's two symbolic fountains make it clear that love for humans is always a feeling of mixed emotions, never entirely pleasurable alone:

> But not to mortals is it e'er allowed
> To drink unmingled of that current bright;
> Scarce can they taste the pleasurable flood,
> Defiled by angry Fortune's envious spite;
> Who from the cup of amorous delight
> Dashes the sparkling draught of brilliant joy,
> Till, with dull sorrow's stream despoiled quite,
> No more it cheers the soul nor charms the eye,
> But 'mid the poisoned bowl distrust and anguish lie.
>
> (canto 1, p. 19)

Human life and love are imperfect; it is only as an immortal that Psyche finally partakes in the gods' eternal joys without pain. Tighe's poem marches alongside Gurney's adaptation, as it, too, includes addresses from the poetess to her readers, and evocations of her own Muse. It also reflects the expansion of the contemporary known world—for example, in a catalogue of gemstones (canto 1, pp. 32–3), which includes stones from India, Peru, Labrador, and Persia as sources of riches, and the Bay of Biscay (canto 3, p. 108) in a simile. Not at all interested in Platonism, this female-centred version focuses on love and Psyche's emotional growth as worthwhile topics for Tighe and her readers to explore.

Tighe's poem was widely known only after her death, when she also soon became known as the 'Irish Psyche',[86] but one writer was quite aware of the potential of her *Psyche* for promoting his own work during her lifetime. William Hayley (1745–1820), writer and biographer of William Cowper and close friend and supporter of William Blake, John Flaxman, and the artist George Romney (1734–1802), started, but never completed, a verse translation of Cupid and Psyche.[87] Mary Tighe dedicated one of her fifty privately printed copies to Hayley in 1805, and Hayley, one of the very few writers to whom *Psyche* was shown before private publication, encouraged Tighe to publish her *Psyche* more widely, and to add George Romney's illustrations to her book. Tighe subsequently declined, and, when her poem was published, it was so without Romney's cartoons. Romney's illustrations of Apuleius would have clashed thematically with Tighe's version of the story, since the scenes in Romney did not appear in Tighe's poem (see Fig. 5). Hayley had planned a joint Cupid and Psyche project together with Romney, writing a poem on the theme 'in emulation of Dryden's delightful fables', but discarded it unfinished, even though Romney produced eight cartoons for it.[88] Apart from the drawings, nothing remains, but it is likely to have been a translation into heroic couplets, the metre of Dryden's *Fables, Ancient and Modern* (published 1700). Other translations by Hayley, such as Pierre Corneille's *Rodogune* (as 'The Syrian Queen' (1771)), were equally unsuccessful.

Fig. 5 George Romney (1734–1802), *Psyche Being Rowed across the Styx* (1776). © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Reproduced by kind permission.

6. John Keats

A better-known reader of Tighe's poem is John Keats (1795–1821), who engaged frequently with ancient literature in his poetry, and was interested in the less canonical Latin writers such as Catullus and Apuleius.[89] In in his early years he expressed strong admiration for Mary Tighe's poem, although later he distanced himself from its sentimental nature.[90] His understanding of Psyche as a metaphor moves from the Neoplatonic Soul to the incarnation of inspiration throughout his poetry, and he inserts himself as a character into his Psyche poems, sometimes as the poet praising

Psyche's nature, sometimes as the Cupid embracing her.[91] Keats mentions Psyche directly in his poetry. The first instance is the early 'I Stood Tip-toe' (1816, published as the first poem in *Poems 1817*), a poem that describes poetic inspiration by nature and is full of references to antiquity.

In ll. 141–50 of this poem he gives a short and impressionistic summary of the story of Cupid and Psyche, from the moment Zephyrus brings her to Cupid's palace, to the lamp and her final deification:

> So felt he, who first told, how Psyche went
> On the smooth wind to realms of wonderment;
> What Psyche felt, and Love, when their full lips
> First touch'd; what amorous, and fondling nips
> They gave each other's cheeks; with all their sighs,
> And how they kist each other's tremulous eyes:
> The silver lamp,—the ravishment,—the wonder—
> The darkness,—loneliness,—the fearful thunder;
> Their woes gone by, and both to heaven upflown,
> To bow for gratitude before Jove's throne.

The focus of the narrative is on Psyche's experiences and emotions, but the beginning of this section of the poem introduces Apuleius as its author, with whom Keats identifies as a fellow writer of emotional divine encounters. Written about eight years after Coleridge's Platonist 'Psyche' poem, 'I Stood Tip-toe' maps onto the contemporary idea of the soul as 'moving on luxurious wings' (l. 131) while ostentatiously focusing on the girl's inner life.

One of Keats's later 'Great Odes', 'Ode on Melancholy' (1819), touches on the same idea with a brief mention of Psyche as the butterfly of the soul: 'Nor let the beetle, nor the-death moth be | Your mournful Psyche' (ll. 6–7). The speaker warns against (voluntary?) death as a medicine against melancholy, and contrasts the image of death beetles and death moths with Psyche, the immortal butterfly; a similar image of the butterfly as the soul appears in *Endymion*, 2.60–93. Here Keats's refusal to equate Psyche with a moth is an interesting correction to Blake and others' identifications.

The 'Ode to Psyche', the first of Keats's 'Great Odes', is, however, his most intensive engagement with C&P. This poem was first transcribed by him in a letter to his brother and sister-in-law in April 1819, where he adds specifically that the butterfly-winged Psyche symbolizes the soul, and that Apuleius is a Platonist.[92] The 'Ode to Psyche' focuses on the story after the

stage described by Apuleius, Tighe, and his own ‘I Stood Tip-toe’—namely, Psyche’s life after her apotheosis. While wandering through a beautiful landscape, the poet encounters a couple embracing, reminiscent in appearance of the famous statue of the couple in Florence (see above Chapter 3 and Fig. 4). The poet recognizes them from their wings, although it takes him a little longer to identify Psyche, whose own poet and ‘priest’ he decides to become, since she is such a late addition to the pantheon that she has no temple or priest herself.

The main part of the poem consists of two sections, the first of which (ll. 28–35) describes the lack of Psyche’s worship in a direct address to the goddess, who never shows any awareness of the poet’s presence: ‘temple though hast none, | Nor altar heap’d with flowers’ (ll. 28–9). The second section (ll. 43–51) is Keats’s promise to provide both temple and priesthood for her: ‘Yes, I will be thy priest, and build a fane | In some untrodden region of my mind’ (ll. 50–1). Keats replaces Apuleius, the prose chronicler of Psyche’s human life, with himself, her poet and priest as the divine incarnation of the immortal soul. In the last few lines of the poem, Keats allows Cupid, who was notably absent from most of the poem, back into Psyche’s life and thus into his own: in the temple he has built for Psyche, there will be ‘A bright torch, and a casement ope at night, | To let the warm Love in!’ (ll. 66–7). Just as Keats hopes for his own love to thrive, he reunites Psyche and Cupid in terms that recall their first union in Cupid’s palace, but this time there is a bright wedding torch that brings light into the darkness, and therefore a happy, eternal, no longer clandestine, union of the divine couple in warmth and light.

Keats allows himself to worship this late goddess, described in the writings of a post-Augustan philosopher, because he can identify with her (and Apuleius’) outsider status. After all, he is not able to read the Greek classics in the original like some of his contemporaries (notably Shelley) and is more at home with non-canonical poetry (such as Catullus) than the Augustan Latin classics.[93] Keats’s identification with Cupid in his ‘Ode to Psyche’ fits into the novelty of his poetic imagination. Like Cupid, he has to rebel against his parent (Venus, or the literary establishment) to gain his poetic desire.[94] Psyche becomes for Keats a means for self-expression, and therefore his approach is much less compatible with that of Taylor or Coleridge, as Platonism takes a backstage in the poem. His approach to

fashioning poetic identity via Psyche resembles much more that of the female authors in this chapter.

This can be seen, too, in his well-known poem *Lamia* (written 1819), which uses C&P but, like Peacock's *Rhododaphne*, with reversed genders: his Cretan immortal Lamia is both beautiful and a shapeshifting serpent, with echoes of what Apuleius' Psyche fears her husband might be.[95] Her beloved, the naive Corinthian mortal[96] Lycius, whom she had once spotted without him noticing (1.215–19), is housed by her in an enchanted palace with 'viewless servants' (2.136), and the taboo is changed from viewing the divine to naming it. Once Lamia's true identity is revealed (by the visiting philosopher–teacher Apollonius of Tyana, replacing Psyche's sisters and linking this story with that of the Corinthian *lamia* Apollonius had banished in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.25), she vanishes and disappears just like Cupid, while Lycius dies.[97] In this gender-inverted tale there is no happy ending.

It becomes clear that Psyche and her story in and beyond Apuleius' tale became synonymous with the image of poetic inspiration and self-representation in the early nineteenth century. Just as Tighe used Psyche to express her desire for love and femininity, Keats harnesses her symbolism for his identity as a poet, by identifying first with the male author, and then with Psyche's divine lover, and by reversing the gender of his characters in *Lamia*.

7. Further Female Poets: Hemans and L.E.L.

Other female poets follow Tighe's lead in this period. Felicia Dorothea Hemans (1793–1835), born in Liverpool but resident in Wales and, in later life, Dublin, wrote hymns and poems, often with female themes and occasionally traced from antiquity, of which she was an avid student (e.g. 'The Wife of Asdrubal', 'The Last Song of Sappho', and so on). Her patriotically sentimental poems appealed to her large female readership.[98] She was acquainted with Shelley and appreciated by Wordsworth, and the model for a growing group of female poets. Like Tighe, she has only recently been rediscovered by readers and critics. Hemans admired Tighe, whose death she commemorated in elegiac quatrains in 1827,[99] an elegy

that moves from mourning that Tighe no longer can see and feel the spring of nature around her, to realizing at the end of the poem that her immortal soul has now moved on to see more beautiful things: ‘Now peace the woman’s heart hath found, | And joy the poet’s eye!’ Hemans was famous for these kind of idealized and imaginary pilgrimages to poets’ graves.[100] Tighe is only allusively commemorated as ‘the author of *Psyche*’ in the note accompanying the actual poem. Hemans visited Tighe’s tomb only in 1831, and she did not much like Flaxman’s Psyche figurine mourning Tighe, which she found intrusive, but ‘soul’ and ‘joy’ subtly allude to Psyche and her daughter in her poem.[101]

Still, one of her classically themed poems, which picks up on familiar themes of the soul’s immortality, is ‘Psyche Borne by Zephyrs to the Island of Pleasure’ (1828), in twelve ballad quatrain stanzas, written for the *Literary Souvenir*, a periodical that published images and poems as reactions to them, and that was popular as a gift.[102] The accompanying picture by John Wood, engraved by F. Engleheart, shows a beautiful semi-naked Psyche carried by three smaller male characters with butterfly wings, the Zephyrs of the title. The poet addresses Psyche, who is being carried aloft by the wind to Cupid’s palace (Tighe had situated Cupid’s palace on the Island of Pleasure, too), asks her not to mourn that she has left behind her loved ones, and in the final stanza reassures her of her future happiness that all hope to share:

> And fearfully and mournfully
> We bid the earth farewell,
> Tho’ passing from its mists, like thee,
> In a brighter world to dwell.
>
> (stanza xii)

She Christianizes and conceptualizes Psyche here as the immortal soul, who rejoices in leaving her human life behind and enters Paradise, just as Hemans and her readership aspire to do.[103] Hemans, who is fascinated with her female characters’ deaths and immortality through poetry, here plays with Psyche being carried safely by the wind instead of jumping to her death, and her immortal life united with her divine husband.

Yet another almost forgotten female poet and novelist who was popular in her time is Letitia Elizabeth Landon, who abbreviated her name to L.E.L. (1802–38).[104] A child prodigy, she started writing poetry as a teenager and

used the money earned to support her brother's career and herself. She focused on descriptions of passionate, often unrequited, love. Her work was admired by Bulwer-Lytton, especially her poetry, which she published as L.E.L. in (among other places) the *Literary Gazette*, a weekly literary magazine first published in 1817, and of which she also became one of the editors. An admired beauty, Landon utilized her image as well as her poetry to establish herself in London's fashionable society, despite her merely middle-class upbringing.[105] Although she did not know Hemans, she composed a poem on her death (1835): 'Stanzas on the Death of Mrs Hemans'.

As one of her contributions to the 1827 *Literary Souvenir*, she wrote 'Cupid and Psyche' as a response to an engraving by William Humphrys of a painting by W. E. West, reproduced in the book.[106] The picture shows the couple in their early teens, Cupid gazing at Psyche and the dove in her hand, while Psyche looks at the observer. Landon's *ecphrasis* denounces Cupid's treacherous nature, and, like Tighe and Keats before her, Landon questions whether what she sees is perhaps a dream: 'What sweet picture may this seem? | Were it aught but painter's dream.' Whereas Cupid tends to be uncaring about everyone else, the Cupid in the picture shows his care for Psyche: 'Gentle as the gentlest rays | Of the dove's on which they gaze; | He has left his bow unbent.' The poet then wishes that love would feel like this for everyone. 'Dove' as an address for Psyche herself is found in both Tighe and Keats, indicating perhaps Landon's indebtedness to both. The picture and the poem clearly require the recipient's knowledge of the myth as a whole, and possibly also of contemporary literary reactions, to make sense of them, as there is no retelling of the plot, only an ekphrastic spotlight on a popular episode of the story.

8. Mary and Percy Bysshe Shelley, Byron, and Moore

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822; hereafter PBS) knew C&P well, and may even have read his favourite German author C. M. Wieland's *Psyche* (see Chapter 4). Although it was he who encouraged Mary Shelley to read C&P and to begin a translation of it (see below), traces in his work are harder to find. From about 1817 onwards, PBS turned to classical themes in

his poetry.[107] PBS read Apuleius from 4 to 9 May 1817, and thought of the text as a 'fictitious composition of such miraculous interest & beauty'.[108]

Peacock and Shelley became fascinated with C&P, and Peacock's *Rhododaphne* (1818), with its Apuleian allusions (see above), received enthusiastic reviews by Shelley.[109] Notably Shelley saw C&P as Greek, not Roman, in origin, and, like the German readers in Chapter 3, placed it in his studies alongside Plato and Homer.[110] At the same time as Mary was working on her translation, PBS started *Laon and Cythna: The Revolt of Islam*, where his description of a mysterious hall is reminiscent of Cupid's palace, an ekphrasis that Mary had translated quite faithfully herself. The heroine's telling of her own story in canto 7 may echo Psyche's, as she has to wander through the Greek landscape pregnant and abandoned, like Psyche after her desertion by Cupid.[111] Hagstrum makes a case for the poem's love between half-siblings being a reflection of contemporary artistic representations of rather androgynous Cupids partnered with equally delicate Psyches in brother-and-sister-like embraces, which would recentre the focus of reception on art rather than written words.[112]

PBS's later work is suffused with his version of Platonism, although he remained open to the materialist atheism that got him expelled from Oxford as a young man (1811) alongside Thomas Jefferson Hogg. He believed that the immortal soul was aligned with poetic imagination, whereas the mind is immanent and thus mortal; poetry mediates between the two.[113] The long poem *Epipsychidion* (1821; translated as 'On the Subject of the Soul', or 'A Song about a Little Soul'[114]), based on the Shelleys' friendship with Teresa (or 'Emily') Viviani, who was confined to a convent in Pisa before being married off, is a case study. Her Grecian beauty and imprisonment fascinated Shelley, whose poem of Platonic love associated Emily with the eternal soul and inspiration, in a deep reflection on the nature of the soul and poetry. Psyche-metaphors abound in her description—for example, 'Poor captive bird!' (l. 5) recalls the imprisonment of the soul or psyche in the body; 'Sweet lamp! My moth-like Muse has burnt its wings' (l. 53) seems to allude to Psyche's lamp burning Cupid (on Psyche as moth, see Keats, 'Ode on Melancholy'), and the speaker wishes to become 'Conscious, inseparable, one' (l. 540) with this kind of eternal soul, which would lead him to his own poetic heights. The speaker and Emily together

will sail to an Ionian isle, where Emily will become the lonely inhabitant of his own house, with obvious echoes of Psyche living in Cupid's palace:

> This isle and house are mine, and I have vowed
> Thee to be lady of the solitude.—
> And I have fitted up some chambers there
> Looking towards the golden Eastern air,
> And level with the living winds, which flow
> Like waves above the living waves below.
>
> (ll. 513–18)

The imprisoned Emily recalls the Platonic *soma-sema* imagery of the incarcerated soul, in imagery derived from Apuleius, which helps Shelley to discuss the nature of inspired poetry.

Mary (Wollstonecraft) Shelley (1797–1851; hereafter MS) may have grown up with C&P. Her father, William Godwin (1756–1836), published an adaptation of C&P in his 1806 'Loves of the Gods' as a narrative about fulfilled love. This was part of his book of mythology for children, *The Pantheon: Or, Ancient History of the Gods of Greece and Rome*, in his Juvenile Library.[115] Much later he included Apuleius in his *Lives of the Necromancers* in 1834. MS had no formal Latin education but was able to read the classics, Greek and Latin, first with, then without, PBS's help.[116] She had promised Percy to learn Greek before their elopement together.[117] He also encouraged her to begin a translation of C&P in Autumn 1817, just after finishing *Frankenstein*.[118] Mary started translating C&P, which may be the only part of Apuleius she read, in November 1817. Her unfinished translation remains a fragment and was not published in her lifetime. The manuscript is now mostly in the Library of Congress, but two pages, one sheet, are preserved in Oxford's Bodleian Library.[119] The fragment breaks off with the end of *Met*. 5.13, Cupid's promise to let Psyche see her sisters again.

MS's translation starts carefully and literally, but the text becomes progressively smoother and more confident towards the end.[120] As Clemit and Markley's annotations to their edition indicate too, MS omits ancient concepts that are difficult to render within her own worldview, such as the people's gestures of admiration when they see young Psyche (*Met.* 4.28). In *Met*. 4.29 MS translates the simple *puellae* with 'Princess', after, as Clemit and Markley indicate in the app. crit., trying and discarding 'virgin'. 'Such

a great goddess' (*deae tantae*) becomes 'true goddess' (after discarding 'deity'). The introduction to Venus' furious outburst is toned down, as the goddess simply 'shaking her head disdainfully discoursed thus with herself', and her angered speech is more ladylike. Similarly, Venus' rather over-enthusiastic kissing of Cupid (*osculis hiantibus* (*Met.* 4.30)) becomes more dignified ('she kissed her son affectionately').[121]

Surprisingly for a translator not unknown for sexual scandals herself, any erotic references are omitted or toned down, too. Psyche's wedding night and her invisible servants' administrations afterwards (*Met.* 5.4) make no allusions to the lost virginity of the original, and the servants simply help Psyche dress. Cupid tends merely to 'embrace' Psyche several times in MS's version, and Psyche similarly (*Met.* 5.6) does not seduce her husband to get him to allow her sisters to visit. Even her sisters' characters are softened: the first sister's own bald husband's comically described lack of virility and the second sister's husband's sexually debilitating gout (*Met.* 5.9, 5.10) become merely the loss of 'the power of pleasing' and 'infirmities'. Their hateful tirades against Psyche are shortened. Cupid's graphic description of the sisters as *lupulae*, 'bitches' (*Met.* 5.11) is marked with 'X' in MS's translation, as a spot to which she wanted to return later but never did. Her 'wicked hags' here is, however, an apt translation of Apuleius' *lamiae*, and her 'infernal pests, the cruel Furies' in *Met.* 5.12 is a vivid though not literal adaptation of *pestes illae taeterrimaeque Furiae*. Cupid's announcement to Psyche that she is carrying his child is included but less detailed, so MS's translation does not suppress Psyche's pregnancy and might have ended with the announcement of the birth of 'Pleasure'. Nevertheless, MS's Psyche does not wonder about the biological process of conception, as Apuleius' does, but the actions of Psyche, the anxious mother-to-be, are carefully translated by the new mother Mary Shelley, who had given birth to her daughter Clara Everina on 2 September 1817.[122]

Next to the omissions, some of her mistakes are telling. At times her knowledge of ancient culture is both deficient and on display—for example, when she translates *Apollo, quamquam Graecus et Ionicus, propter Milesiae conditorem* (*Met.* 4.32) as 'Apollo [who] as the founder of Milesia must have been both a Greek & an Ionic', not recognizing that this a clever self-reference by Apuleius as the writer of a Milesian tale, instead identifying Apollo correctly as the patron god of Milesian Didyma. MS leaves a space to fill in the translation of the verse oracle later, but this

never happened. Towards the end of her translation, her version becomes more confident, the language fluent, but MS omits half-sentences that she was not interested in, and leaves more gaps to fill in translations of Apuleius' more difficult Latin later.

These are all small changes, perhaps, in a fairly close translation, but they add up to make MS's version more fairy-tale-like (stressing Psyche's status as princess), and more acceptable to contemporary sentiment because of its toned-down sexuality. These changes may indicate that the translation may initially have been intended for publication in some form or other, or as a text to be privately distributed, like those of J.P.H. and Mary Tighe's first edition (see above). MS's translation has a personal note from the beginning: whereas Apuleius in *Met.* 4.28 describes Psyche's beauty in the third person (*pulchritudo nec exprimi…sermonis humani penuria poterat*), MS seems to feel conscious of the difficult task she has undertaken: 'I cannot express [Psyche's exquisite fairness] and indeed language is poor.' Psyche watching her sleeping husband somewhat anticipates Frankenstein's monster's observations of his sleeping master, as well as Mary's well-known tale of the novel's inception, where she had a dream vision of a monster bending over his creator while he slept, as she describes in her 1831 introduction to *Frankenstein* for the Standard Novels edition.[123] Given how much *Frankenstein*'s plot turns around the scene where Victor sees his creation for the very first time, this allusion to Apuleius becomes poignant. The temporal closeness of the two texts may be among the reasons why there are shared motifs between Mary's C&P translation and *Frankenstein*—for example, the resemblance of the creature to the low-born husband Venus demands of Cupid for Psyche, or the importance of curiosity in both texts.[124] For instance, various 'bedroom tableaux' (Stevens's term) in *Frankenstein* show remarkable similarities to C&P, specifically to Psyche's discovering of Cupid's identity in *Met.* 5.22.[125]

Two years later, MS still thought of Psyche, as, in her novel *Mathilda* (1819, published 1959), the heroine reminisces that she once lived 'like Psyche…for awhile in an enchanted palace, amidst odours, and music, and every luxurious delight; when suddenly I was left on a barren rock'.[126] For MS, the reference to Psyche creates the contrast between a paradisiacal past and a terrible present. For similar reasons, she was still preoccupied with *Met.* 5.22, where Psyche's discovery of Cupid's identity leads to the couple's separation, and to MS's identification with Psyche, especially after

her husband's untimely death.[127] In a poem of 1832 for the annual *Keepsake*, PBS becomes Cupid ('To Love in Solitude and Mystery').[128] In a dialogue between the speaker and the god of Love, she mourns the eternal loss of her love. Love visits her again (*Met.* 4.137), and she will dedicate her soul to his worship (l. 12).

In a poem written at the latest in 1834 but published 1839 in *Keepsake*,[129] 'Stanzas, by the Author of Frankenstein', Mary recalls Psyche's loss as she longs for her husband to visit her once again at night ('To the Death, O Come to Me in Dreams My Love'), and she promises not to commit the Greek Psyche's error but to stay asleep—to prolong their union forever.[130] Psyche's loss of her husband allowed Mary to deal with her own loss of hers (lines 5-12):

> T'was thus, as ancient fables tell,
> Love visited a Grecian maid,
> Till she disturbed the sacred spell,
> And woke to find her hopes betrayed.
> But gentle sleep shall veil my sight,
> And Psyche's lamp shall darkling be,
> When in visions of the night,

In MS's novel *The Last Man* (1826), finally, Lionel Verney, the last human alive on Earth after a plague has killed off all mankind, and an avatar for Mary herself, towards the end of the novel spots the famous statue of Cupid and Psyche in the Roman Forum (see Fig. 4), and responds to it in despair:

> marble forms of divine beauty. Each stone deity was possessed by sacred gladness, and the eternal fruition of love…I clasped their icy proportions, and, coming between Cupid and his Psyche's lips, pressed the unconceiving marble. (III. 340–1)[131]

For the last human survivor, there is no possibility of love left; like Keats's observer, he encounters the lovers in eternal embrace, but here they are made from unresponsive stone, and he is excluded forever, even from the sterile kiss of a marble couple. Not even Cupid and Psyche can stop Verney's alienation; the uncaring happier past the statues represent is unattainable and lost to Verney. Unbearable human loss is again expressed through C&P.

Throughout her life, MS returns to C&P as an elegiac tale she uses to express her own sense of loss of love, identifying with Psyche (but being more sensible than her) or with the observer of their eternal love who

cannot emulate it. Neither personal nor universal grief is consolable. Mary never reaches Apuleius' happy ending and loving reunion, not in her translation, and not in her use of the story as metaphor, either. Unlike Mary's deeply personal reception of Psyche's character and story, PBS subordinates C&P to his Platonic leanings, downgrading it to the occasional employment as metaphor. These two writers, in many ways, therefore showcase the wide range, and gendered nature, of C&P reception by the Romantics.

George Gordon Byron (sixth Baron Byron, 1788–1824), so influential in the conception of MS's *Frankenstein*, Philhellene, and close friend of PBS, touches on C&P merely briefly, but tellingly sees the story as Greek, just like Mary Shelley had done (see above). His knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* stretched beyond C&P.[132] There is a brief reference in *Childe Harold*, canto III, l. 104 (1816), where Byron fancifully situates Cupid's palace and the couple's wedding night in idyllic Clarens in the Swiss Alps.

Don Juan is Byron's expression of Philhellenism, and its Cupid and Psyche references associate his protagonists with idealized Greek myth.[133] The poem's allusions to Cupid and Psyche are thematic and important: the beautiful lovers Haidée, a lovely young Greek girl ('And pure as Psyche ere she grew a wife' (*Don Juan*, III. 74)) and Don Juan himself ('Love turn'd a lieutenant of artillery' (*Don Juan*, IX. 45)) are characterized as Cupid and Psyche respectively.[134] This identification of the lovers foreshadows their separation and her death in the poem; again, there is no ultimate happy ending for Cupid and Psyche.

Byron's friend and literary executor, the Irish poet Thomas 'Anacreon' Moore (1779–1852), is best known for his *Irish Melodies* (1808–34, his lyrics set to folk-music melodies), and for being a somewhat reluctant party to the group who destroyed Byron's salacious memoirs. Among his *Legendary Ballads* (London, 1828) he included a poem 'Cupid and Psyche'. It is a powerful ballad-like snapshot, starting with the sisters' orders to kill Psyche's husband:

> They told her that he, to whose vows she had listen'd
> Through night's fleeting hours, was a Spirit unblest…[135]

It ends with Cupid fleeing from Psyche and telling her solemnly that 'And love, once distrusted, for ever is lost!', showing once again that, for this

close-knit Romantic circle of friends, the story of C&P is foremost that of beauty and love lost.

9. Elizabeth Barrett Browning

Elizabeth Barrett Browning, née Barrett Barrett (1806–61; hereafter EBB) was taught Latin and Greek alongside her brother, had access to a well-stocked library, and was well read in classics and passionate for Greece from an early age;[136] her poem 'The Battle of Marathon' imitated both Homer and Byron, and was published when she was 14.[137] She translated Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, a Romantic favourite, in 1833 into English, discussed Greek poetry in essays—for example, the 1842 *Athenaeum* essay on 'Greek Christian Poets'—was steeped in knowledge of Greek history and mythology, and was highly sympathetic with the Greek fight for independence.[138] She also deeply admired Wordsworth, Keats, and the other Romantic poets, and her early poetry is more Romantic than 'Victorian'. While she chose to focus on the feminine viewpoint on history, EBB was exceptionally well read, and had studied most women poets available to her, including Hemans and Landon.[139] Her life and works combine so many strands of the previously discussed approaches to C&P reception (for instance, feminine author- and readership, interest in the nature of the soul, expanding knowledge of the story) that she deserves a longer treatment.

It would be tempting to see parallels between her own life and C&P, by comparing her elopement with Robert Browing to Psyche's flight to Cupid's palace, but her work on Psyche precedes their well-known love story by many years.[140] At the time of their secret marriage in October 1846, both were fully developed poets in their own right. Already in 1841, EBB had planned to collaborate with the poet Richard Hengist Horne (1802–84) on the lyrical drama 'Psyche Apocalypté' ('Psyche Unveiled'). Only fragments were written, and first published together in 1876 by Horne, fifteen years after Barrett Browning's death.[141] Horne blames the unfinished nature of the project on EBB's first needing to recover from an illness, and then eloping with Browning.[142] The theme was the development of the soul, 'speculations dealing with intense mysteries of our

psychological nature…through a poetical medium' (1876: 478). Letters between the two authors show passionate discussions about the names of the characters and their possible literary allusions, and the title: 'Psyche Unveiled', 'Psyche the Pursuer', = or 'Psyche the Terrible', even 'Psyche Agonistes' were discarded for the Grecian *Psyche Apocalypté* (1876: 87).

We have EBB's synopsis of this rather strange play (1876: 478–9), some fragments, and letters between EBB and Horne and Robert Browning. Psyche in this play is the protagonist's soul, and his antagonist, as she 'haunts' and 'terrifies' him.[143] The *dramatis personae* features Medon, his wife Evanthe, Leirion, the child of Medon's dead sister, a poet, a philosopher, and Psyche, Medon's soul. The choruses are variously 'Heavenly Spirits', 'Islanders', and the 'Genii' of the Greek island where the play is set.

The first scene of Act I, set at the tomb of Medon's parents and his sister, treats questions like the nature of the self, what Life and Death might mean, or whether man could truly see God, and would have featured a dialogue between the protagonist and his (at first invisible) soul, Psyche, who manifests herself to him for the debate, until Medon flees. The second scene features Medon and Leirion fleeing to Evanthe, whose love for Medon overcomes his 'recent heaviness and perplexity of thought' caused by his confrontation with his soul (1876: 482), and Medon invites the whole island to their wedding, including its Genii, who sing their advice that 'a lover should forget his soul' (1876: 482)—as it turns out, this is terrible advice, as Medon and Evanthe's love is doomed.

Act II starts with a wailing Psyche, who 'haunts Love with mystic and mournful voices' (1876: 479, 484) interrupting the wedding, as she becomes visible, which drives Medon to flee in terror, while Evanthe freezes, statue-like. The following scenes feature Medon's agonized conversations with Psyche, who is both part of him and his opponent, and his conversations with a Utilitarian who denies the achievements of German philosophers and the transcendent nature of the mind, relying on external senses alone, which Psyche mocks, followed by a poet who refuses to help Medon against Psyche. Evanthe enters, alone, and, owing to her 'deficiency of intellect' (1876: 486), she is unable to sympathize with Medon's troubles or provide help (echoes here of Ceres and Juno's inability and unwillingness to help Psyche), and collapses on the floor.

Act III has Medon and Leirion fleeing into Nature, which Leirion tries to interpret for Medon, an attempt then echoed by the invisible Psyche. They find the corpse of Medon's abandoned bride. Medon decides to confront Psyche now, as he realizes that his conflict with his Psyche has caused Evanthe's death. The last scene, at Evanthe's fresh grave, has Leirion speak up against Death, and both Medon and Psyche echoing him, until a Chorus of Heavenly Spirits explains that death is not the end. In the final scene, either both receive a vision of the holy cross, are softened, and finally reconciled to each other through the shared religious experience, or Evanthe is beatified for her sacrifice, and Medon spends the rest of his life as a hermit near her tomb, possibly EBB's preferred ending.[144]

Related in its view of the soul as terrifying is EBB's 1844 sonnet 'The Soul's Expression', with its 'dread apocalypse of the soul' (l. 14), where she grapples with the adequate representation of the soul and its manifestations, and how it is the source of divine inspiration.[145] The drama's unfinished nature and the aporia in the poem indicate that EBB's understanding of the nature of the soul remained work in progress.

Consequently, EBB's work shows a lifelong engagement with the nature of the soul, which for her was an essential ingredient of inspiration and artistic creation. Whereas the drama and the sonnet are, apart from some motifs, quite removed from C&P and show interest not so much in the Apuleius story but in the Romantic idea of Psyche the soul as an essential, transcendent part of human nature that cannot, and should not, be suppressed, C&P remains on EBB's mind throughout her creative life.[146]

Published for the first time after her death in *Last Poems* (1862), but composed much earlier, in 1845, were EBB's ten 'Paraphrases' of Apuleius, all based on C&P.[147] They were to form part of a series to accompany illustrations of gems for a 'Classical Album' by Miss Anne Thomson,[148] a friend of hers, on the request of EBB's cousin (and dedicatee of *Aurora Leigh*) John Kenyon.[149] Although EBB completed quite a few poems, nothing came of the scheme in the end, and EBB saw the poems as a job rather than pleasure. The C&P poems form the largest group of her paraphrases and stand out, not only because of their length, but also as the only ones based on both Latin and prose; the others are from Greek poets (Theocritus, Nonnus, Hesiod, Euripides, Homer, Anacreon), plus the German poet Heinrich Heine. It is likely that EBB, much more interested in

Greek than in Latin literature, like so many of her contemporaries, saw the story as Apuleius' translation from a lost Greek original, and EBB and Horne's drafts of *Psyche Apocalypté* call it a Greek drama. EBB's poems are vivid and would have been a helpful conversation starter for any middle-class female readers of the album or, say, the *Literary Souvenir*.[150] She selected sentimental and female-centred stories from antiquity, such as Hector and Andromache in *Iliad* 6, and especially the ten Psyche poems. Consequently, the focus is entirely on the heroine Psyche and her actions and emotions.

The gems were selected from the collection of the Polish prince Stanislas Poniatowski (1754–1833), who had commissioned them from the artist Giovanni Calandrelli (1784–1852) based on Moritz's *Götterlehre* (1791; see Chapter 3), which explains their mythological themes.[151] After Poniatowski's death, a large number of the proof impressions taken directly from the cut gem stones were sold in England to John Tyrrell Esq., and are now included in the Beazley archive in Oxford.[152]

Tyrell's catalogue had just been published in London by James Prendeville, treating the Poniatowski gems as genuine evidence for ancient art and religion, and their aesthetically most exquisite remains.[153] At the same time, the gems in the collection had mostly mythological themes, and Prendeville uses them to create a learned *vade mecum* of Greek and Roman mythology, enriched by quotations from ancient and more contemporary poetry. Like Moritz's book, the gems are grouped according to theme, starting with 'gods and goddesses' in correct mythological chronology, from Saturn onwards. A selection of eleven gems tells the events of C&P from the breaking of the taboo up to the couple's marriage, leaving out the first part of the story until then altogether, and changing and rewriting the plot and its chronological order;[154] Prendeville selected poetic passages from Tighe and Gurney, alongside works such as Hesiod *Theogony* and Richard Glover's (1712–85) *Athenaid*, to illustrate the gems.

EBB's paraphrases invert the order of the Zephyr and the Gazing episodes (nos 2 and 1 below) and may be slippery on the chronology of no. 8, but, apart from these, she tacitly reorders the chronology of the gems to match that of Apuleius' original. She dedicates the longest poem in the cycle to the gazing scene (forty-nine lines). The collection features gems illustrating nine of the ten paraphrases, with only the marriage absent; EBB

may have relied on a list of the gems' subjects rather than seeing the gems themselves.[155] She certainly used Apuleius' Latin text, as in a letter to Kenyon, beginning of April 1845, she describes Apuleius' style as 'florid', and notes that she tried 'the unlawful art of translating this prose into verse, and, one after another, have done all the subjects of the Poniatowski gems Miss Thompson sent the list of, except two'.[156]

Her treatment of the gems in her poems shows EBB's excellent knowledge of C&P, as the list that follows demonstrates:

Paraphrase 1, 'Psyche Gazing on Cupid', illustrates *Met*. 5.22 and the Poniatowski gem in Prendeville and the Beazley archive T122 in 49 lines.

Paraphrase 2, 'Psyche Wafted by Zephyrus', describes in 12 lines the chronologically earliest event (*Met*. 4.35), which is depicted in the last of the Poniatowski gems in the collection, T131.[157]

Paraphrase 3, 'Psyche and Pan', jumps to *Met*. 5.25, to illustrate T124 in 35 lines.

Paraphrase 4, 'Psyche Propitiating Ceres', describes the events of *Met*. 6.2–3 and T123 in 43 lines, thus restoring Apuleius' chronology over Prendeville's, which EBB repeats in the next two poems as well.

Paraphrase 5, 'Psyche and the Eagle', captures in 27 lines the story of *Met*. 6.15 and T126.

Paraphrase 6, 'Psyche and Cerberus', describes the events of *Met*. 6.19–20 and T125 in 11 lines, discussed below.

Paraphrase 7, 'Psyche and Proserpine', expands in 17 lines on the same chapters of the *Metamorphoses*, to which two gems were dedicated, T127 and 128. The latter pictures Psyche opening Proserpina's box, which, strictly speaking, happens after she has left the Underworld. Prendeville does not distinguish 127 and 128 sufficiently, and, accordingly, EBB illustrates only one of the gems.

Paraphrase 8, 'Psyche and Venus', in 3 short uncomfortable lines, illustrates T129, where Psyche hands over a jar to Venus. Proserpine's jar never reaches Venus, of course, since Psyche opens the container before reaching her and falling deathlike to the ground. The scene in *Met*. 6.16, however, where Psyche hands over the eagle's jar to Venus, could be portrayed here.

This scene was popular in art, as the eighth panel of the Dufour wallpaper shows.[158]

Paraphrase 9, ‘Mercury Carries Psyche to Olympus’, illustrates *Met*. 6.23/T130 in 4 lines, in preparation for the plot’s climax.

Paraphrase 10, ‘The Marriage of Psyche and Cupid’, has no Poniatowski equivalent for the 27 lines illustrating *Met*. 6.24. Donaldson et al (2010) compares T111, which is, however, unlikely, and Poniatowksi had placed T131, an image of Zephyr carrying Psyche, here, possibly out of a feeling of the absence of suitable gems. EBB’s close description based on Apuleius’ well-peopled feast substitutes for a gem on which this many characters could not practically be portrayed, and shows again her good knowledge of Apuleius’ text.

T122 shows how Prendeville’s[159] version deviates from Apuleius, as he claims that Psyche boasted to her sisters that Cupid was her lover, and that the sisters then persuaded her that the god was unfaithful. Prendeville’s Psyche is ‘indignant at this’ and wishes to kill the god, stopped only by feeling pity for the sleeping Cupid. This is first supplemented by thirty-two lines from Gurney, on Venus’ instructions to Cupid to make Psyche fall in love with ‘some wretch of abject birth’, but ascribed by Prendeville to Apuleius himself, possibly a consequence of Gurney’s self-chosen anonymity.[160] The second poem is an excerpt from Tighe’s detailed and emotionally intense description of the scene in canto II, leaving out one stanza with an ekphrasis of the sleeping Cupid, discussed above.[161] Prendeville’s book does not feature any images of the gems, his summary of the myth may be misleading, and the selected poetry, as in this case, does not reflect the plot entirely correctly and may have been chosen to close gaps in the story more than actually illustrating the gem at hand. This opened up an opportunity for Thomson and EBB to create a smaller yet more focused version of the gem catalogue, with poems written specifically to illustrate a selection of gems for an expanding female readership who in the nineteenth century could also display their affinity with Psyche not only by studying gemstones with the help of albums of poems, but also by wearing cameo brooches with Psyche motifs themselves (for an example see Fig. 6).

Fig. 6 Nineteenth-century cameo of winged Psyche carrying a box of beauty. Image credit: Peter Fitchett, Fitchett's Photography.

Even though the paraphrases are fairly close to Apuleius, the differences show EBB's specific interests: 1.1–5, 'Psyche Gazing on Cupid', illustrates

T122.

> Then Psyche, weak in body and soul, put on
> The cruelty of Fate, in place of strength:
> She raised the lamp to see what should be done,
> And seized the steel, and was a man at length
> In courage, though a woman!

The differences from *Met*. 5.22 are subtle but telling: in agreement with her interest in the development of the human soul also on display in *Psyche Apocalypté*, she translates *animi* (‘mind’) as if she had found *animae* (‘soul’); Fate does not aid Psyche, but instead Psyche assumes its role herself. Here and in what follows EBB puts much emphasis on the active, manly nature of Psyche’s courage as she is about to plunge the dagger into her husband’s body.[162]

The poems also show her more playful side. A famous dog-lover,[163] EBB devoted ten lines to the description of a not particularly terrifying Cerberus (T125).[164] As soon as the dog receives Psyche’s honey cake, he falls silent—and so does line eleven, halfway through:

> When Psyche threw the cake to him, once amain
> He howled up wildly from his hunger-pain.
> And was still, after.—

Finally, EBB’s masterpiece *Aurora Leigh* (1856–7), a poetic novel in blank verse, tells in nine books the life of the poet Aurora Leigh, her search for poetic inspiration in England, France, and Italy, and her relationship with her cousin Romney. Romney is passionately trying to alleviate the terrible living conditions of the lower classes, and first proposes to Aurora to make her his helpmate, which she refuses. Only after several years do they meet again, after Romney had been blinded by a fire set to his mansion by a rabid mob, and marry, in deeper love and mutual recognition of their respective interests. The poem is often seen as a portrait of EBB’s own development as a writer.[165] Immensely influential in the nineteenth century and then neglected for most of the twentieth, it was received enthusiastically by, for example, George Eliot, John Ruskin, and Elizabeth Gaskell. Only late in the twentieth century did EBB’s book come to be seen as a feminist manifesto and its author, herself interested fiercely in women’s rights, an icon.[166] It makes a case for women’s rights to self-expression and economic independence. In a Freudian reading, Lewis argues that, in

addition to both George Sand's *Consuelo* novels and de Staël's *Corinne*, well known to have influenced *Aurora Leigh*, EBB ultimately also takes inspiration from C&P, with her two heroines both echoing Psyche, as 'a myth of female desire and the female quest'.[167]

Psyche is mentioned twice in *Aurora Leigh*, framing its beginning and end:[168] first in a key passage in 1.156, when Aurora recalls a portrait of her dead mother and 'mixed' in her imagination (1.147) any female character she read about with her mother's image, including 'A loving Psyche who loses sight of Love'; Aurora, like Psyche, needs to undergo a process of finding her own identity and status in life, both in her relationship with her cousin and on her own.[169] As a literary reference, this is complex, given Cupid's invisibility to Psyche for most of their marriage, which only turns to recognition of his identity when Psyche breaks the taboo.[170] EBB's Psyche first gains and then loses the sight of her soulmate, inverting the image; but this also anticipates Romney's blindness towards the end of book 9.

Growing up an orphan alongside her cousin Romney Leigh, a teenager a little older than herself, Aurora starts to quest for the soul in poetry (1.873–6) and becomes a poet. Romney throughout the poem is equated with angels, gods, and then Cupid, especially in 9.42-5 when Aurora contemplates Romney and thinks him lost to her:[171]

> I would have married him so changed,
> Although the world had jeered me properly
> For taking up with Cupid at his worst,
> The silver quiver worn off on his hair.

Aurora is, on the other hand, painfully aware of her own penniless and earthbound nature, expressing the inequality of the couple in C&P as a disparity of social and metaphysical status:

> Always Romney Leigh
> Was looking for the Worms, I for the gods.
> A godlike nature his, the gods look down,
> Incurious of themselves; and certainly
> 'Tis well I should remember, how, those days
> I was a worm too, and he looked on me.
>
> (1.551–6)

She thinks throughout most of the novel that her poems are ‘false’ (1.1023–4) and ‘incomplete’ (like herself as a woman (2.4)), even though she becomes successful in London by writing poetry she does not believe is good enough. Romney is the heir and owner of the family house that the penniless Aurora could share only if married to him in an unequal marriage (2.795–801). Romney’s Cupid-figure vacillates between Aurora (whom he loves) and the poor yet deserving Marian Erle, whom he wants to rescue because of a pronounced saviour complex, which makes Romney erotically unavailable to Aurora for much of the novel (echoes here of Cupid’s absence). Throughout the ‘novel-poem’, Aurora needs to encounter and accept Marian in order to grow fully into her soul, to become less rigid and driven by ideals, and more practical and realistic, perhaps even more feminine.[172] In her self-characterization, Aurora sees herself in gender-crossing terms (e.g. as Achilles at 1.725, a male Iphigenia at 2.778, etc.), whereas Marian is very feminine throughout, especially in the allusion to Psyche hanging on to Cupid in *Met*. 5.24, showing Marian’s fear of being a mere burden to Romney:

> That, clinging round his neck, she pulls him down
> And drowns him, —and that, lavishing her soul,
> She hales perdition on him.
>
> (6.950–3)[173]

When Marian was a child, she had an epiphany of being embraced by an angel-like blind Cupid descending from Heaven towards her:

> to gaze
> She knew not why, to see she knew not what,
> A-hungering outward from the barren earth
> For something like a joy. She liked, she said,
> To dazzle black her sight against the sky,
> For them, it seemed, some grand blind Love came down,
> And groped her out, and clasped her with a kiss;
> She learnt God that way, and was beat for it.
>
> (3.887–94)

Marian as a Psyche-figure has her own inset tale, during most of books 3 and 4 of *Aurora Leigh*, echoing or reflecting Aurora’s own experiences, reminiscent of Cupid and Psyche’s role in Apuleius.[174]

Lady Waldemar, the beautiful older woman with designs on Romney, who plots against Aurora and then Marian, becomes Venus Meretrix

(5.764); it is her intrigues against Marian that land the girl in a brothel, where she is raped and becomes pregnant (echo here of Psyche's pregnancy). Like Apuleius' Venus, however, Waldemar and the Leighs are reconciled in the end, as it turns out that Waldemar's maid (echoes of Venus' handmaidens humiliating Psyche) was the culprit who sold Marian into the brothel without Waldemar's knowledge. She also has traces of Psyche's sisters, as she uses her persuasive skills during frequent visits to Marian to separate her from Romney and to gain him for herself (e.g. 6.970–8), and, like Psyche's sisters, is called a Lamia (7.153, 170).

After her rape, Marian wanders through the wilderness like the pregnant Psyche. Marian's beautiful baby boy is associated with Voluptas-like pleasure, as his baby hairs are 'pleasure-plats', and mother and baby are 'happy' and 'satisfied' with each other (6.721–2).

The second mention of C&P, in 7.666–7, features yet again a copy of the Capitoline statue group (see Fig. 4), the prominence of which we discussed in the previous chapter, and which is placed in the villa in Florence where Aurora, Marian, and her baby live:[175]

> The statuette on the console, (of young Love,
> And Psyche made one marble by a kiss)'

Lewis sees it here as a comment on Aurora's desire for the union of Love and the Soul, of physical and spiritual love.[176] It may also recall Cupid reviving Psyche after her fateful opening of Persephone's container, which leads to the couple's reunion. The story of Cupid and Psyche's separation and reunion thus frames Aurora's own life story.

The marriage between Aurora and Romney, reminiscent of that of blind Rochester and Jane in Bronte's *Jane Eyre*, which also bears reminiscences of Cupid and Psyche (see Chapter 5)[177] is one true union of equals, one that helps Aurora to perfect her poetic arts because she understands love/Love better in all its incarnations. This splitting of Psyche associations over two characters has been noted before, see Chapter 3, and is also reflected in how each character is based on EBB's own experience. Aurora and Marian show aspects of both EBB herself and her friend, the American writer and journalist Margaret Fuller (1810–50), an advocate for women's rights and emancipation of slaves and student of Latin literature and German Romanticism, while Romney incorporates characterizations of Horne and Robert Browning for their socialist interests, and of the blind Hugh Boyd,

EBB's classics teacher.[178] Yet again, a female author uses Psyche to discuss her own place in life and her literary environment.

10. Conclusion

C&P's reception in this period is very rich, and often contradictory. Via translations, adaptations and artworks, the story becomes quite well known to a wider readership, including especially a growing group of women writers and readers, which modifies the mainstream of its reception. Psyche's contradictory quality haunts the writers of the time, who explore her nature as a mortal girl who undergoes a painful and long separation from her lover, and who dies young, not always to be resurrected by Cupid in the end. Some poets rewrite the ending to make it more melodramatic and to remove the rare happy ending to an ancient myth to contemplate the nature of love interacting with human mortality.

Most male Romantics, educated to look outward and to a public life, see the story of Cupid and Psyche through the angle of Neoplatonism. Many male writers discussed in this chapter shared a focus on defining the nature of the self; they were to various extents classically educated and interested in the human mind and the nature of imagination, which could be expressed by a discussion of the nature of the soul. Philosophical approaches were therefore never far from their versions of C&P, and Psyche becomes the universal Soul to be explored and explained. Coleridge's Psyche, for example, is pure Platonism, a romantic symbol for the soul's immortality. Gurney's influential version is prefaced with references to Platonism, while also modernizing its setting with allusions to contemporary events, but also allows Psyche's emotions considerable space—a female acquaintance had after all suggested that he adapt the story. Blake integrates Psyche as the soul deeply into his own mythology and gives her features to some of its key characters, such as Vala. Some Romantics, such as Peacock and Keats, furthermore associate Psyche with specifically Romantic poetic imagination and inspiration.

Female writers, on the other hand, focused often on the private sphere,[179] explored their own lived experiences and desires, and expressed those through an emphasis on Psyche, her femininity, and her inner world.

Female Romantics, whose classical education was far harder won via studying with their relatives or husbands, on the other hand, reflected on the role of women within families and their societies, and Psyche's errors in love and wanderings gave them permission to compare their own feelings and experiences with a classical paradigm that was easily adaptable to their own situations.

Tighe packaged this exploration of the nature of love and emotions into an acceptable work for sensitive female readers, and for her successors the novel became the most suitable genre, in its portrait of complicated arrangements and rearrangements of families. As artworks representing Psyche and adaptations of the story as a whole became more accessible, female poets, such as Hemans or L.E.L., could assume the plot as known and focus on single emotionally powerful episodes that stirred their mostly female readers' fancies in albums composed of images and accompanying poems.

Percy Bysshe and Mary Shelley exemplify this Romantic dichotomy between male and female approaches best. His encounter with Psyche is almost entirely Platonist. Mary, who read and translated the story under her husband's guidance, shows a much more personalized and emotional engagement, as her Psyche reception reflects her experiences as a young mother and especially as a young woman who lost her beloved husband forever under traumatizing circumstances, across her poetry and her novels.

The educational separation and the longing for classical learning and identification by women continues into the Victorian age. Barrett Browning crosses both periods. Initially she saw Psyche as a terrifying incarnation of a fractured soul, but she also composed short playful poems for a then abandoned album of art and poetry for a female readership. Her verse-novel *Aurora Leigh* incorporates the character of Psyche into two of her female protagonists, and also plays with some of Apuleius' plot elements. Writers of novels, often seen as a feminine genre owing to a plethora of female authors and readers, associate C&P with that genre, and integrate its plot to a smaller or larger extent into their own as a generic marker before, during, and after the heydays of Romanticism. It is remarkable how frequently statues or other representations of Cupid and Psyche appear in these early novels, both as plot elements and as indications of the new and developing novel as an art form that was itself founded in classical antiquity. Just as C&P was integrated into Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* as a *mise en abyme* to

reflect and illustrate the main plot, these statues or short plot segments highlight the modern novels as exemplars of an old genre while also often commenting on the novel itself.

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[1] Wellek (1949: 147).

[2] McGann (1983: 23); see also Wellek (1949) for the problematic nature of the definition.

[3] Haekel (2014: 129–30, 134–69).

[4] Helpful for the English context here: overviews in Hoffmann (1908) and Haight (1927); Carver (2007: 327–64) focuses on the earlier periods up until 1660. On artists as different as Flaxman and Keats being able to work in both Gothic and Romantic mode, see Halmi (2018: 666). For the historical and social background to English Romanticism and the prominent position of Cupid and Psyche in it, see Butler (1981).

[5] Hurst (2006: 104–6) delineates the classical education of female Victorian writers, which was often dependent on learning alongside their brothers, or having fathers willing to educate their daughters.

[6] On Gothic and the reception of antiquity, see Uden (2020), especially pp. 6–7 on the fragmented nature of classical reception in Gothic texts.

[7] On the two periods and their contested yet permeable borderlines, see Garner (2000).

[8] See Uden (2020: 85–119) on Radcliffe and the classics, especially her disputed knowledge of Latin and classical texts.

[9] References are to chapters in Radcliffe (1966).

[10] References are to the chapters of *Northanger Abbey* in Austen (2008).

[11] Williams (1995: 154–72).

[12] Term and examples: Milbank (1998: 53–4). On the ‘feminization’ of early modern novel readers, see, e.g., Doody (1996: 249).

[13] See Paschalis (2020) for Walter Scott using the same trope.

[14] All references are to the second edition, Smith (1793).

[15] She is also ‘a prisoner in her little apartment’ (i. 164), with Platonic undertones (see below).

[16] Compare Psyche’s simplicity: *Met*. 5.11, 5.15, 5.18, 5.19, 5.24; 6.15; innocence: *Met*. 5.23, 6.15.

[17] Fletcher (1992: 6).

[18] See Carver (2020) for the availability of editions and versions of Apuleius in English during this period.

[19] See below for Mary Tighe’s book, the first edition of which was also printed only in small numbers for restricted circulation.

[20] J.P.H., *Psyché, a Mythological Poem from the Latin Prose of Lucius Apuleius* (London: Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor for the author, 1816). Apparently only a single copy has survived, now in the British Library, and all references here are to this book. The etchings are based on drawings by Gravelot, or Hubert François Bourguignon, 1699–1723, as a handwritten note on the flyleaf explains. They are based on sixteenth-century etchings by the Master of the Die, *fl*. 1525–60, but not acknowledged as such.

[21] Apart from the heroic couplets, a variety of metres is used to emotionalize direct speeches, which are often expanded. Examples include the oracle delivered by a priestess to Psyche's parents (J.P.H. 1816: 9); the invisible voices welcoming Psyche to Cupid's palace (pp. 14–15); Cupid's warnings to Psyche (pp. 17–18, 27–8); Pan addressing Psyche (p. 45); the reed aiding Psyche (pp. 66–7), and so on.

[22] William Warburton (1698–1779), Bishop of Gloucester, in *The Divine Legation* (8 vols, 1811).

[23] Børge Thorlacius (1775–1829), Danish philologist and theologian: *Fabula de Psyche* (Havniae, 1801).

[24] Tibullus 3.4.65; Prop. 3.18.23, 2.28.11.

[25] Images and discussion: Hagstrom (1977: 522–3). For the famous Marlborough Gem and the Marlborough collection, see https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems/The-Marlborough-Collection/Introduction.

[26] 'Turban à Bandeau. Tunique à la Psyché', *Journal des dames et des modes*, Paris, 26 March 1802. See https://candicehern.com/regencyworld/evening-full-dress-may-1811/cp1802-373/ for images.

[27] [Hogg] 1823; see Marshall (1960: 175–6; 181–3 for early responses). Carver (2020: 119); Markley (2003: 122–3).

[28] See Carver (2020) for a thorough treatment of Taylor's programme and the style of his translations, including a comparison with the version by Gildon (1708), which suggests Taylor relies considerably on Gildon.

[29] Taylor (1795: p. iii), cited in Carver (2020: 130).

[30] Carver (2020: 130).

[31] Carver (2007: 36–47; 102–3, 133–41).

[32] See also Butler (1981: 132–3) on Taylor.

[33] Evans III (1940).

[34] See Harding (2009).

[35] Coleridge (1884: 189). Coleridge's capitals.

[36] Coleridge and the soul: Haekel (2014: 157–69). Editions of the poem: Coleridge (1912: i. 412); Holmes (1996: 247, with notes pp. 341–2 for context). First published in 1817. See also Chayes (2017: 226).

[37] See Haekel (2014: 1–3), discussing Wordsworth's 'Immortality Ode'.

[38] Butler (1981: 133), discussing Darwin's *The Economy of Vegetation* (iv.47–62, date: 1791). Darwin also linked the *C&P* myth with the Eleusinian mysteries (Raine 1968a: 183).

[39] Raine (2000: 183). Darwin (1807: 202) attributes this belief to the Egyptians; but cf. Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 551a (5.19). Darwin in the Shelleys' circle: Butler (1981: 129).

[40] Quoted from Holmes (1996: 341), who also notes the poem's 'emblematic' style resembling that of the metaphysical poets such as George Herbert.

[41] Further examples are in Mahoney (1977). For context and content of Coleridge's 'later' poems, see Mays (2002). For development of Coleridge's views on the soul, see Haekel (2014: 157–69).

[42] 'Night Third' l. 458; in Young and Gilfillan (1853: 57).

[43] Discussed in detail in Haekel (2014: 60–7).

[44] Haekel (2014: 61).

[45] Haekel (2014: 10–11, 25). A Neoplatonist strand, of course, can be traced throughout medieval and Renaissance literature as well, including in specific Apuleian reception. See Moreschini (2014: 335–64).

[46] On Coleridge and Platonism, see Vigus (2009); on his philosophy in general, Hamilton (2002).

[47] For a brief discussion, see Ruggeri (2020: 216–18).

[48] 'The versification of this little piece is really beautiful' (Clark 1806: 14). Subsequent references are to the third edition, [Gurney] 1801.

[49] See May and Harrison (2020: 16) for a fuller quotation.

[50] He could have found this Orphic genealogy of Cupid in, e.g., Aristophanes, *Birds* 693–8.

[51] e.g. Venus' address of Cupid ([Gurney] 1801: 14–15), the invisible voices addressing Psyche (p. 23), Pan addressing Psyche (p. 41), but not when Cupid warns Psyche about her sisters and predicts the birth of their immortal child, which follows the normal metre (p. 26).

[52] Illustrated in May and Harrison (2020: 129). See above on J.P.H.'s use of Gravelot's etchings based on the same work.

[53] See also Chapter 7 on C. S. Lewis, whose Psyche-figure is clearly drugged on her way to the rocks.

[54] The mariner who narrates Coleridge's poem kills an albatross and is forced to wear its carcass around his neck while experiencing many supernatural events in the poem; the albatross is both a prop and the central allegory of this ballad, which was placed, as 'The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere,' as the very first poem in Coleridge's and Wordsworth's first edition (1798) of *Lyrical Ballads, with a Few Other Poems*, a book commonly perceived to be the first book of the English Romantic movement.

[55] The Circus Maximus as a spot to pick up prostitutes: Zimmerman et al. (2004: 617 *ad loc.*).

[56] Evidence: King (1972); Carver (2020: 126–8). He focuses on Blake's painting *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy* (1795).

[57] Flaxman's most important C&P artwork is the version of the Marlborough Gem he created for Josiah Wedgwood in 1778; statues include the figure of Psyche on Mary Tighe's tombstone (on Tighe, see below), and a pair of Cupid and Psyche from 1824, now in Sir John Soane's Museum in London (see above on the Marlborough Gem).

[58] On Blake and love, see Ostriker (1982–3).

[59] Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) was a Swedish mystic, visionary, and spiritualist. On Swedenborg's influence on European Romantics, see Wellek (1949). His followers include the Brownings and their friend Frederick Tennyson (1807–98), whose poem 'Psyche' (1891), in blank verse, is not treated in this volume.

[60] For discussion and image, see Carver (2020: 125–6).

[61] Raine (1968a: 180–203) analyses features of Cupid and Psyche in Blake, with a focus on *The Four Zoas*, but see p. 183 for *The Last Judgment*; see Erdman (1988: 556). Kathleen Raine (1908–

2003) was a poet as well as a Blake scholar; for C&P in her poetry, see Chapter 7.

62 See Haekel (2014: 138–42) for Blake's developing views on the soul.

63 For their characters, see Ostriker (1982–3: 160); on *The Four Zoas* and Cupid and Psyche, see Raine (1968a); Chayes 2017. Chayes is the most encompassing analysis of Cupid and Psyche in Blake; she, for instance, also interprets Blake's *Book of Thel* as a reception of Cupid and Psyche, where Thel's quests imitate those of Psyche (p. 217), including a descent into the Underworld in both texts, and traces iconography reminiscent of Cupid and Psyche—e.g. from Raphael, in Blake's illustrations of some of his poems. Critical of Cupid and Psyche imagery: Haigney (1987: 118–19), who discusses Vala's garden.

64 Raine (1968a: 195) sees links with the *Song of Solomon* instead.

65 *The Four Zoas*, 7.93 = Erdman (1988: 365).

66 For an image, see https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/53/William_Blake_-_Jerusalem%2C_Plate_4%2C_%22Jerusalem_%2C_Chap._1%85.%22_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg, with Vala in the top left corner.

67 See below on Keats' 'Ode on Melancholy' for moth imagery.

68 Erdman (1988: 412–13).

69 See fig. 13 in May (2020: 152) for Spence's images.

70 Chayes (2017: 220–4).

71 Image: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Why_was_Cupid_a_Boy

72 Chayes (2017: 231–3). Image: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infant_Joy#/media/File:William_Blake_-_Songs_of_Innocence_and_of_Experience,_Plate_28,_%22Infant_Joy%22_(Bentley_25)_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg. Text: Erdman (1988: 16).

73 Markley (2003: 122), also for Thomas Jefferson Hogg's 1823 biographical essay on Apuleius.

74 Peacock's own notes here cite *Met*. 4.1, where Lucius, recently turned donkey, sees laurel roses himself and realizes they are poisonous to him. For a brief assessment of the poem's Platonist undertones, see Hagstrum (1977: 530).

75 All quotations follow Peacock (1818).

76 Discussed in detail by May (2021) and O'Brien (2020). On her life and work, see Buchanan (2011). All references to Tighe are to the third edition from 1811.

77 Her description from her preface (Tighe 1811: p. x); on Tighe and Apuleius in general, see May (2021); on Tighe's interactions with other literature, see Kramer Linkin (2010).

78 See, e.g., Kucich (1995), Henderson (1999), and Kramer Linkin (2005: p. xxiii).

79 May (2021).

80 References follow the third edition from 1811.

81 *Met*. 5.23 (trans. May 2019): '[Psyche] explored and stroked and admired her husband's weapons, she took out one single arrow from the quiver. She was about to test its sharp point with the tip of her thumb, but pricked it a little too deep with rather too strong an effort of her trembling fingers, so that tiny little drops of rose-red blood were trickling over the surface of her skin.' Cupid's description of how he wounded himself when he saw her first is short and lacking emotion in comparison: *Met*. 5.24: 'I, that famous archer, struck myself with my very own weapon and made you my wife.'

82 See Chapter 5 on Morris' use of the same image.

[83] Female gaze in Romanticism: Kramer Linkin 1996; Hobgood 2007.

[84] See May (2021: 106–7) on Tighe's concerns with femininity.

[85] i.e. 'with hard work'.

[86] Buchanan (2011).

[87] See Kramer Linkin (2018) for a detailed account of the relationships between Tighe, Romney, and Hayley.

[88] Hayley (1809: 78–9); Kramer Linkin (2018: 12). The seven extant cartoons of the original eight are now in the Liverpool Walker Art Gallery, donated in 1823 by Romney's son. See Kidson (2002) for Romney, and Kidson (2002: 120 ff.) for some of the Psyche cartoons. Heroic couplets were the metre of choice also of the anonymous translation of 1816, with the preface signed J.P.H. (see above).

[89] See May (2020) for a fuller study of 'Ode to Psyche' and Keats's knowledge of Apuleius; see Aske (1985) and Stead (2016) for context.

[90] Weller (1928) collects allusions to Tighe in Keats; see also Bush (1935, 1969) and White (2010). For disillusionment with Tighe, see Finney (1936:66-7) and Chandler (1998: 395-408).

[91] See May (2020) for a more detailed analysis of this development, esp. pp. 148–50 for this poem.

[92] See May (2020:151–7) for the poem and its various intertexts. For the letter see White (2010: 160).

[93] On Keats, his contemporaries, and Catullus, see Stead (2016). For Keats's 'lateness', see Aske (1985: 102).

[94] Williams (1995: 213); May (2020).

[95] Since at least Prasch's *Psyche Cretensis* (see Chapter 3), the island of Crete has been associated with the story of C&P, a tradition continued, e.g., in Robert Bridges's 1885 *Eros and Psyche*; See Ruggeri (2020).

[96] Keats's 'She fled into that valley they pass o'er | Who go to Corinth from Cenchreas' shore' (ll. 174–5) situates Lycius near Lucius' re-metamorphosis in *Met*. 11.

[97] Butler (1981: 134–5) sees close parallels, including the gender inversion, with *Rhododaphne*. Some of these parallels are also in Gross (1990), who points out (p. 156) that the palace's 'silver lamp' (1.380) is an echo of 'I Stood Tip-toe', l. 147. See Felton (2013) for ancient motifs of Cupid as Lamia, and the involvement of Apollonius of Tyana.

[98] On Hemans's specific type of Anglocentric Philhellenism, which localizes Greece and its ideals in the past, see Comet (2009).

[99] Hemans (1827).

[100] See Westover (2005) for examples, especially pp. 6–9 for 'The Grave of a Poetess'.

[101] Hemans in 1831: 'Amongst other persons of the party was Mr Henry Tighe, the widower of the poetess…He had just been exercising, I found, one of his accomplishments in the translation into Latin of a little poem of mine, and I am told that his version is very elegant. We went to the tomb, "the grave of a poetess," where there is a monument by Flaxman: it consists of a recumbent female figure, with much of the repose, the mysterious sweetness of happy death, which is to me so affecting in monumental sculpture. There is, however, a very small Titania-looking sort of figure with wings, sitting at the head of the sleeper, and intended to represent Psyche, which I thought interfered wofully [*sic*] with the singleness of effect which the tomb would have produced…' (cited in Chorley 1836: ii. 210–11). On the association of Tighe with Psyche after her death, see Buchanan (2011).

[102] Published in *Literary Souvenir* (1828) = Watts (1828). Online, including the image, here: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Poems_of_Felicia_Hemans_in_The_Literary_Souvenir,_1828/Psyche_borne_by_Zephyrs_to_the_Island_of_Pleasure.

[103] See also Boswell (1982: 145–6) on the poem.

[104] For her colourful life and mysterious sudden death, see most recently Miller (2019).

[105] See Kramer Linkin (1997) on both Tighe's and Landon's methods of navigating the identification of the poets and their works by their contemporaries.

[106] Watts (1827: plate p. 334; L.E.L.'s poem pp. 337–9). Text and image: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Poems_of_Letitia_Elizabeth_Landon_in_The_Literary_Souvenir,_1827/Cupid_and_Psyche

[107] Butler (1981: 123), who also offers a comprehensive overview of the social and historical background to the Romantics.

[108] Letter to Thomas Jefferson Hogg, 8 May 1817. Also quoted in Palacio (1964: 566); Markley (2003: 125); Carver (2020: 119).

[109] Butler (1981: 128–33).

[110] On Greece and Hellenism in the Romantics' thought, see Ferris (2000).

[111] Both parallels suggested by Markley (2003: 128–9).

[112] Hagstrum (1977: esp. 537). He also shows how similar attitudes to erotic love are on display in Shelley's *Witch of Atlas* and *Epipsychidion*. Love between half-brother and -sister is, of course, a feature in Lord Byron's personal life, too.

[113] Haekel (2014: 203–13).

[114] On the title, see Donovan and Duffy (2016: 808).

[115] This should be added to the discussion in Maurice (2020).

[116] For Mary Shelley's knowledge of Latin and the persistent influence of Latin literature on her work, see Palacio (1964), and, for the depth and independence of her Greek learning, see Hurst (2006: 59) and Schoina (2019).

[117] Wallace (2000: 331).

[118] Rolli (2019), in the wake of Markley (2003).

[119] Edited in Clemit and Markley (2002/2020): 282–95).

[120] For a detailed comparison, see Palacio (1964: 567–70).

[121] Also noted by Markley (2003: 126–7).

[122] Markley (2003: 133) also notes that Clare Clairmont and Byron's daughter Allegra was born in January 1817 in the same household.

[123] Goethe, especially in his early *Sturm and Drang* period, became an inspirational writer for English Romanticism, and, as we have seen (see Chapter 3), his *Werther* has some features of Cupid and Psyche. Frankenstein's creature voices his isolation and distance from society ('I thought Werter (*sic*) himself a more divine being than I had ever…imagined' (ch. 15); in the same chapter, the creature also reads some of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.

[124] See Rolli (2019) for a detailed assessment.

[125] See Stevens (2018) for their analysis.

[126] Cited Palacio (1964: 570); discussed Markey (2003: 130). The Shelleys were also acquainted with George Tighe, Mary Tighe's cousin, in Pisa 1819: Markley (2003: 122); he also notes the

presence of Apuleian material in the Shelleys' library.

127 'Ultimately, Mary Shelley may have come to identify with Psyche, who enjoyed an idyllic marriage to the god of Love, only to suffer great loneliness and dejection upon losing her beloved' (Markley 2003: 120).

128 Text: Clemit and Markley (2002/2020: 138).

129 Date and text: Clemit and Markley (2002/2020: xxxviii-xix and 146).

130 Briefly discussed by Palacio (1964: 571); Stevens (2018: 125–9) concurs and provides evidence for MS and PBS's knowledge of Apuleius.

131 Discussions can be found in Palacio (1964: 571); Markley (2003: 130–1), Stevens (2018: 136). See Uden (2020: 191–4 for this scene and 215–224 for classical references in the novel in general).

132 See Daniel (1993: 43) for an allusion in *Don Juan*, xv.151–6, to the prologue of the *Metamorphoses*.

133 On European Philhellenism and especially Lord Byron's role in it, see St Clair (2008).

134 Markley (2003: 123–4); Prowett (1873: 465) suggests that Byron is here inspired by Gurney.

135 Moore (1853: 91–3). For a brief summary of the poem, see Boswell (1982: 204).

136 Her interest in Latin was less pronounced: Hurst (2006: 3).

137 See Donaldson et al. (2010: iv. 7–67). For a reconstruction of EBB's Latin library, see González-Rivas Fernández (2016).

138 See Falk (1988); Prins (1991). On EBB's knowledge of Greek, and her adaptation practice in her translations, e.g., of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, with their Christianizing tendencies, see Wallace (2000).

139 In 1835 she composed 'Stanzas Addressed to Miss Landon and, suggested by her, "Stanzas on the Death of Mrs Hemans"'; see Donaldson et al. (2010: i. 535–9) for an edition of the poem and EBB's developing critiques of Hemans and Landon, and Ryan (2008) on how Hemans, Landon, and EBB, despite no personal acquaintances, interacted with each other through their poems about the deaths of other female poets.

140 Stone (1995: 18–24) shows that EBB's recovery from debilitating illness and poetic interest in love precedes her meeting with Browning in 1845. On the use of Greek literature, against which to model their own lives, as a strategy in the courtship between EBB and Robert Browning, see Prins (1991).

141 In *St James's Magazine and United Empire Review*, 2 (1876), 478–92, and then privately published as a book (Barrett Browning and Horne 1876), in nineteen pages. References to this edition are given in the text. See also Lewis (2003: 128–9) for a brief summary; Saville (2017: 29–38: esp. p. 35) notes how EBB saw the soul as compartmentalized.

142 *Aurora Leigh*, 5.333–42, with notes in Donaldson et al. (2010: iii. 295), *ad loc*., arguably discusses EBB's lack of continued interest in drama as a vehicle for the portrait of the soul.

143 Terms EBB uses in a letter to Robert Browning from 6 May 1845 (Browning 1900), also cited in Loeffelholz (1991: 67).

144 Loeffelholz (1991: 68).

145 Stone (1995: 65). See Donaldson et al. (2010: i. 61–2) for a critical edition. See Saville (2017: 29) for bibliography and discussion of EBB's political side.

146 Even her translations of *Prometheus Bound* feature many more mentions of the 'soul' than the original text: Falk (1988: 80).

[147] Donaldson et al. (2010: v. 116–34). See Harrison (2018a: 183–6) for a discussion.

[148] Later Madame Emil Braun; the archaeologist and Anne were friends and visitors of the Brownings in Florence. After their marriage, Robert Browning seems to have sculpted a bust of Psyche in 1860. Bolton and Holloway (1995: 511–12). See EBB's letter from autumn 1860 to Miss E. F. Haworth, in Kenyon (1898: ii, 411.).

[149] Letter to Browning, 20 August 1845; also mentioned by Loeffelholz (1991: 66). See Donaldson et al. (2010: v. 116–18) for details and further bibliography on the Poniakowski gems.

[150] See Reitz (2020) for wallpaper of C&P with an accompanying booklet, intended as conversation pieces.

[151] Platz-Horster (2005) identifies Moritz as the inspiration and Giovanni Calandrelli as the designer of the Poniatowski gems. On the gems, see Drummond (2006: 558–60).

[152] https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems/The-Poniatowski-Collection is searchable and contains images of all the gems discussed here.

[153] Prendeville 1841.

[154] Catalogue nos 122–32 (Prendeville 1841: 59–67).

[155] Donaldson et al. (2010: v. 117) notes that Thomson sent her a list of the 'subjects of the Poniatowski gems' on 26 April 1845. There are other gems in the Poniatowski collection but not in Prendeville that are relevant to the story—e.g. one of Cupid asking Venus' permission to marry (Beazley archive, ref. no. 1839–79). It is not in John Tyrrell Esq.'s collection underlying Prendeville's book, which is EBB's source, and not in EBB's paraphrases, either.

[156] Kenyon (1898: i) contains this and a few other letters about Miss Thomson.

[157] The Beazley archive entry for T111 is confusing; the female figure is more mature and wingless, while it is the male figure who has butterfly wings. It should be noted that Zephyrs with butterfly wings are contemporary iconography; see above on Wood's picture with Hemans' ekphrasis. Prendeville's explanation (1841: 55) as 'Venus Transported by Zephyrus to the island of Cyprus' is surely the correct one, and the Beazley Archive's bracketed [Psyche] should be deleted.

[158] See Reitz (2020) for a discussion and further bibliography on the Dufour wallpapers (also mentioned in Chapter 2).

[159] Prendeville (1841: 59–60).

[160] [Gurney] (1842: 18–20).

[161] Tighe (1811: 55–6; 57–8).

[162] See also paraphrase 9, where Psyche jumps towards Mercury in order to be raised to Olympus, rather than passively waiting to be picked up (Loeffelholz 1991: 72–4).

[163] Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) fictionalized the life of EBB's beloved dog Flush in *Flush: A Biography* in 1933.

[164] Donaldson et al. (2010: v. 131–2).

[165] Stone (1995: 12) disparages this as a rather limited approach to the poem; see pp. 136–7 for bibliography on this novel as *Bildungs-* or *Künstlerroman*; as the latter, see Lewis (2003: 104).

[166] For a brief overview, see Stone (2010: p. viii).

[167] Based on Neumann (1956) and Lewis (2003: 121). The novels of George Sand (1804–1876), *Consuelo* (1842) and its sequel *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt* (1843), as well as *Corinne* (1807) by de Staël (1766–1817), are analysed alongside *Aurora Leigh* in Lewis (2003: 99–133, esp. 125–33).

[168] References are to book and line numbers of *Aurora Leigh* in Bolton and Holloway (1995).

[169] See Lewis (2003: 125–6) for a discussion of the passage and previous literature's attempts to interpret Psyche as anticipation of various female characters in *Aurora Leigh*, notably Marian Erle. Lewis discusses the two named references to Psyche but does not note how pervasive the Cupid and Psyche imagery is in *Aurora Leigh*, which deserves a longer analysis.

[170] For invisibility and visibility as a theme in the *Met*., see Benson (2019).

[171] Romney as angel: e.g. 4.77–8; 4.920–5; 9.350 ('master, angel, friend').

[172] Briefly: Stone (2010: p. xv). See, e.g., the discussion of the portrait of Danae after she has encountered Jove's golden rain as 'Two states of the recipient artist-soul' (3.140).

[173] On the masculinizing nature of Aurora's scholarship, see Wallace (2000: 340–2, 346).

[174] Marian as Psyche: oil lamp imagery (6.915–17); gazing up in admiration at the godlike Romney: 3.887–94.

[175] Bolton and Holloway (1995: 491) on the passage note that Michelangelo's snowman alluded to in *Casa Guidi Windows* ll. 140–4 and in *Aurora Leigh* might be a copy of the Florence Cupid and Psyche group.

[176] Lewis (2003: 127).

[177] See Lewis (2003: 130, n. 33) for early and frequent accusations of this plagiarism, and for EBB's rebuttals.

[178] Bolton and Holloway (1995: 467, 501).

[179] On the two spheres and 'male' vs 'female' Romanticism, see Mellor (2018).

5

Cupid and Psyche and the Victorians

1. Introduction

The medievalizing tendency already present in Mary Tighe's 1805 poetic version of C&P (see Chapter 4) is greatly extended by later writers' adaptations of our story.[1] Victorian culture pursued and amplified the interest of Romanticism in the medieval past;[2] Tighe's concern to play down the more earthy elements of Apuleius' narrative[3] is also continued in the Victorian period after 1830, reflecting contemporary ideas of social and moral decorum.

Most Victorian adaptors were male, but the status of C&P as one of the few ancient narratives with a female protagonist attracted a number of learned female writers such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning (see Chapter 4) and George Eliot (see below). Thomas Taylor's prose translation of C&P (1795; see Chapter 4) had made the story widely available to those without access to a classical education, along with the extensive verse adaptations by Tighe and Hudson Gurney (see Chapter 4).

In a period where the novel emerged as the leading literary form in English, the only full-length adaptation of C&P in prose fiction is in fact by a female author, Charlotte M. Yonge's *Love and Life* (1880), set in eighteenth-century England, recently treated in detail by Clemence Schulze.[4] But, as we shall see, some of the leading novels of Victorian England show clear traces of our story, which fits the conventional pattern of Victorian fiction in narrating a love story that after many complexities ends in a happy marriage for the protagonist.

This chapter picks out two key clusters of literary reception in the period, that centred around the verse version of William Morris (with its close connections with pre-Raphaelite art), and the echoes of C&P in some of the most prominent examples of Victorian prose fiction.

2. Psyche in Victorian Verse

(a) William Morris, *The Earthly Paradise* (1868–1870)

The great designer and artist William Morris (1834–96) received a traditional Victorian elite classical education and was an able student of Greek and Latin.[5] His enthusiasm for the narrative texts of classical literature was the foundation of his poetic works on classical themes, which included translations of Vergil's *Aeneid* (1875) and Homer's *Odyssey* (1887) as well as his lengthy version of the Argonaut saga (*The Life and Death of Jason* (1867)).[6] Morris's considerable literary output was often composed as a form of relaxation in the evenings, while travelling or (orally) while engaged in handicraft, amid a career of astonishing energy and effort, designing and producing all kinds of art and artefacts and (in the 1880s) engaging in active socialist politics.[7] *The Earthly Paradise* (1868–70)[8] is a vast poem of some 42,000 lines, consisting of twelve sections of roughly even length, each tied to a calendar month.[9] The poem begins with March and ends with February, a structure that looks both to the twelve books of the epic *Aeneid* and to the calendrical framework (January–December) of Ovid's elegiac didactic poem the *Fasti*, also planned in twelve books to cover twelve months (only six survive).

The overall narrative structure is explicitly based on Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Chaucer is invoked in the prologue and addressed in the poet's final 'L'Envoi' as 'My Master'), and the poem (mostly in Chaucerian decasyllabic couplets) narrates how a group of Norwegians in the time of Chaucer, fleeing from a plague and seeking to find the Earthly Paradise, come after a long and complex series of wanderings and adventures to an Adriatic island inhabited by descendants of the ancient Greeks, a pleasant and paradisiacal place with some echoes of Thomas More's *Utopia* (this is the content of the prologue, itself some 3,000 lines). The Norwegians and

the islanders arrange to narrate tales from their own legendary traditions, one from each country in each month. Thus each month/book contains a pair of tales, one from the classical world and one from the medieval world, linked by brief narrative interludes of frame-story in the manner of Chaucer and Boccaccio, maintaining a more or less novelistic continuous plot around the inserted verse tales, which constitute the vast proportion of the material. The whole poem is framed by material from the narrating poet, who provides an opening sequence, numerous link passages, and a concluding sequence.

Morris's version of 'The Story of Cupid and Psyche' (in 2,487 lines and more than double the word length of Apuleius' original[10]) is the classical tale belonging to May, an appropriate season for a love story. Morris makes some use of Shackerley Marmion's 1637 poetic paraphrase *Legend of Cupid and Psyche*, in the same metre and of similar length, which lends the tale an additional romantic colour;[11] but much of the expansion derives from filling many of the narrative gaps in Apuleius' somewhat elliptical story, providing explanations, backstories, and deeper characterizations of important figures, especially of Psyche herself. As Florence Boos has argued, Morris turns C&P into 'a parable of spiritual maturation', representing Psyche as a model Victorian woman managing with strength of character the sometimes problematic transition from daughter to wife.[12] In the brief analysis that follows, I will focus on Morris's modification of the original and his accommodation of the Roman story to its new Victorian context. Interestingly, the prologue to 'May' presents the story as a traditional tale from Greece, excusing its roughness by its oral transmission[13] and giving no hint of its Apuleian origin:

> A book upon the board an elder laid,
> And turning from the open window said,
> 'Too fair a tale the lovely time doth ask,
> For this of mine to be an easy task,
> Yet in what words soever this is writ,
> As for the matter, I dare say of it
> That it is lovely as the lovely May;
> Pass then the manner, since the learned say
> No written record was there of the tale,
> Ere we from our fair land of Greece set sail;
>
> How this may be I know not, this I know
> That such-like tales the wind would seem to blow

From place to place, e'en as the feathery seed
Is borne across the sea to help the need
Of barren isles; so, sirs, from seed thus sown,
This flower, a gift from other lands has grown.'

(ll. 45–60)

This seems to combine a learned knowledge of the prologue of the whole *Metamorphoses*, which describes the work as a *fabula Graecanica*, 'a Greekish tale', and of the likely lack of a Greek model for the story of Cupid and Psyche (as opposed to the outline plot of the whole novel, clearly drawn from a Greek ass-tale),[14] with a contemporary interest in how C&P might exemplify widespread patterns of folk-tale narrative, such as is seen in the work of Andrew Lang (see Chapter 5).

The opening episode describing Psyche's beauty and the consultation of the oracle presents examples of two of Morris's strategies of expansion. Psyche is compared to Venus in the original (*Met.* 4.28), and Venus herself there invokes her victory in the Judgement of Paris (*Met.* 4.30), but Morris adds an extended allusion to the latter:

She was so beautiful that had she stood
On windy Ida by the oaken wood,
And bared her limbs to that bold shepherd's gaze,
Troy might have stood till now with happy days;
And those three fairest, all have gone away
And left her with the apple on that day.
And Psyche is her name in stories old,
As ever by our fathers we were told.

(ll. 9–16)

Morris's version here seems to be evoking the lengthy description of the pantomime performance of the Judgement of Paris on Ida from a much later section of the *Metamorphoses* (10.30–2), which likewise focuses on the beauty of Venus.[15] The embassy sent by Psyche's royal father to the oracle of Apollo, recounted in one sentence in the original, is equipped with a rich list of offerings:

So to Apollo's fane her father sent,
Seeking to know the dreadful Gods' intent,
And therewith sent he goodly gifts of price
A silken veil, wrought with a paradise,
Three golden bowls, set round with many a gem,
Three silver robes, with gold in every hem,

> And a fair ivory image of the god
> That underfoot a golden serpent trod…
>
> (ll. 33–40)

These perhaps recall the similar list of offerings vainly promised to Achilles by Agamemnon in the embassy scene of the *Iliad*;[16] but we also surely see the eye of Morris the craftsman of medievalizing taste and his love of beautiful and precious artefacts, still evident in the remains of his collection at Kelmscott Manor in Oxfordshire.[17]

The extensive scene that follows the fateful oracle (which is itself presented in Chaucerian rhyme royal stanzas, *ababbcc*) is wholly added (ll. 87–194). Here Morris gives us a dialogue between father and daughter and describes Psyche mourning in her chamber, deepening the sketchy characterization of both in the original; his version lays much more emphasis on Psyche's inner life as the story's heroine than the original. He also inserts a scene where the king is pressured by the common people, led by a 'sturdy dyer', to obey the oracle and expose his daughter to the monster. This last episode points both to Morris's interests in artisans[18] and socialism and to his knowledge of classical literature, since it echoes the parallel scene in book 7 of Vergil's *Aeneid*, where the Latin king Latinus is pressured by his people to allow the fateful war against Aeneas. The Vergilian war is forced through against divine oracles, while Morris's pressure is to fulfil an oracle, but both scenarios involve an elderly monarch forced by a crowd of more vigorous subjects to act in connection with the future of his daughter (in Vergil, to stop her imminent marriage to Aeneas).

One key alteration in Morris's version is the first encounter between the lovers. In Apuleius the first time they meet is when Cupid comes to bed with Psyche in his palace (*Met.* 5.4), but in Morris Cupid sees Psyche asleep and admires her charms (ll. 347–70), a clever reversal of the Apuleian moment (*Met.* 5.22), when Psyche recognizes the sleeping Cupid as the god, and the narrator provides an extensive description of his attractions.[19]

> Withal at last amidst a fair green close,
> Hedged round about with woodbine and red rose,
> Within the flicker of a white-thorn shade
> In gentle sleep he found the maiden laid;
> One hand that held a book had fallen away
> Across her body, and the other lay

Upon a marble fountain’s plashing rim,
Among whose brokers waves the fish showed dim,
But yet its wide-flung spray now woke her not,
Because the summer day at noon was hot,
And all sweet sounds and scents were lulling her.
So soon the rustle of his wings ’gan stir
Her looser folds of raiment, and the hair
Spread wide upon the grass and daisies fair,
As Love cast down his eyes with a half smile
Godlike and cruel; that faded in a while,
And long he stood above her hidden eyes
With red lips parted in a god’s surprise.
Then very Love knelt down beside the maid
And on her breast a hand unfelt he laid,
And drew the gown from off her little feet,
And set his fair cheek to her shoulder sweet,
And kissed her lips that knew of no love yet,
And wondered if his heart would e’er forget
The perfect arm that o’er her body lay.

This striking scene (a little disturbing for modern readers) was one of the key moments illustrated in art by Burne-Jones (see below), but also emphasizes the mutuality of their love, only implicit in Apuleius, and presents a conventional moment of falling in love that would be more to Victorian taste than simply turning up in bed. After this Cupid explicitly organizes both Apollo’s fateful oracle and the transport of Psyche by Zephyrus (ll. 393–414), something that is only implicit at best in Apuleius.

Another element used by Morris to make the tale’s narrative more coherent and cohesive is repeated prolepsis of the plot, not at all a feature in Apuleius, where it is never clear what the outcome will be for the first-time reader. We find this for example early on at ll. 383–92, just after Cupid has seen Psyche for the first time:

He swore that of all gods and men, no one
Should hold her in his arms but he alone;
That she should dwell with him in glorious wise

Like to a goddess in some paradise;
Yea, he would get from Father Jove this grace
That she should never die, but her sweet face
And wonderful fair body should endure
Till the foundations of the mountains sure

Were molten in the sea; so utterly

Did he forget his mother's cruelty.

Here Psyche's final apotheosis is anticipated, as it is later when Cupid (while still living with Psyche) actually goes off to visit Jupiter to plead for her immortality (ll. 1065–8).[20] These reassurances of a happy ending bring Morris's tale closer to a traditional novelistic structure.

Psyche's arrival at and initial time in Cupid's palace before his coming (*Met.* 5.1–3 in Apuleius, ll. 431–699 in Morris[21]) is much expanded, in accordance with Morris's greater focus on his protagonist and her characterization. Cupid's palace is described in some detail, with emphasis on both the natural beauty of its garden and setting (ll. 451–72) and (again) its craftsmanship in the eyes of the wondering and initially intimidated Psyche (ll. 509-20):

But when through all that green place she had passed,
And by the palace porch she stood at last,
And saw how wonderfully the wall was wrought,
With curious stones from far-off countries brought,
And many an image and fair history
Of what the world has been, and yet shall be,
And all set round with golden craftsmanship,
Well-wrought as some renowned cup's royal lip,
She had a thought again to turn aside…

The medievalizing splendours of the interior recall (again) parts of Morris's own Kelmscott Manor (see above), his weaving of tapestries, or the decorations at 1 Palace Green by himself and Burne-Jones (see below)—ll. 531–46:

A little she began to lose her fear,
And gaze upon the wonders of the place,
And in the silver mirrors saw her face
Grown strange to her amidst that loneliness,
And stooped to feel the web her feet did press,
Wrought by the brown slim-fingered Indian's toil[22]
Amidst the years of war and vain turmoil;
Or she the figures of the hangings felt,
Or daintily the unknown blossoms smelt,
Or stood and pondered what new thing might mean
The images of knight and king and queen
Wherewith the walls were pictured here and there,
Or touched rich vessels with her fingers fair,
And o'er her delicate smooth cheek would pass

> The fixed bubbles of strange works of glass…

Psyche's bath in Cupid's absence, mentioned with the utmost brevity in Apuleius (*Met.* 5.3), is expanded into a major pictorial scene:

> And then arose and slowly from her cast
> Her raiment, and adown the steps she passed
> Into the water, and therein she played,
> Till of herself at last she grew afraid,
> And of the broken image of her face,
> And the loud splashing in that lonely place.
> So from the bath she gat her quietly,
> And clad herself in whatso haste might be…
>
> (ll. 661–8)

Here the male artist Morris takes the opportunity to introduce a titillating, voyeuristic image of a naked Psyche bathing, deploying a long tradition of female toilette in art, already exploited for Psyche herself in earlier depictions and later evident in Frederic Leighton's *The Bath of Psyche* (1890),[23] and prominent in Morris's own time in the work of Courbet and Manet.[24] This gendered and pictorial perspective on Psyche's body is repeated in two further scenes when she leaps into a stream, reprising her first suicide attempt from the Apuleian original, and the watching Pan admires her attractive figure through her 'clinging gown' (ll. 1315–30), and in an added episode where she strips and bathes again before entering the temple of Ceres (ll. 1471–9).

The relationship of Cupid and Psyche is described rather more fully than in the original;[25] for example, Cupid explains carefully that Psyche will be left alone most of the time and considerately gives her the option of returning home and marrying another (ll. 1001–13). Psyche's pregnancy, on the other hand, is wholly omitted, a concession to Victorian decorum (we see the same in Mary Tighe, above, and in Walter Pater, Chapter 6). The two visits of the sisters are explained with greater complexity than in Apuleius: there the first is motivated by Psyche's loneliness, the second by their jealousy of her good fortune, while in Morris Psyche likewise requests the first, but the second is motivated by a vision sent by the goddess Discord of her suffering father, a grander and more dignified explanation (ll. 1025–46), an element taken from Marmion.[26] In general, Morris makes the sisters more dignified and less low-life: there is no mention of conjugal infirmity and lack of sexual performance as a motivation for envy, stressed

by Apuleius (*Met.* 5.10). A concern for greater dignity and decorum is also shown in Morris's version of the separation of Cupid and Psyche (ll. 1247–90; cf. *Met.* 5.24): he simply strides from the chamber rather than flying off, and she does not attempt to hang on to him; his parting speech is delivered in the bedroom rather than from a perch on a tree. Psyche's vengeance on her sisters in Apuleius is also transferred to Cupid, making her a more sympathetic character as well as solving the problem of how the meek younger sister becomes a devious avenger.

Psyche's wanderings between the separation and her encounters with Ceres and Juno are much extended: Apuleius briefly says that she visits 'many peoples', but, in Morris, she wanders like a romantic recluse through both country and city,[27] even among 'sacked towns' and 'marching armies', a topical allusion in the mid-1860s,[28] but under Cupid's care (ll. 1375–80) —something not true at this stage in Apuleius, where Cupid is still recovering from his burn at Venus' home (*Met.* 5.29). Here as elsewhere Morris stresses the mutual love of the couple and Cupid's quasi-chivalrous support of his beloved (a motif also found in Tighe, see Chapter 4), much less prominent in the original and much more commensurate with Victorian social values.

Morris omits the comic and undignified episode where Venus advertises for her 'runaway slave' Psyche (*Met.* 6.8), and the narrative of Psyche's arrival at Venus' house is rather more lengthy than in the original; the goddess' abode in Morris is 'a green and flowery place' set in groves and has formal gardens and dancing girls (ll. 1559–1626), rather like an inhabited form of Cupid's house, whereas in Apuleius Psyche is physically seized by Venus' staff as soon as she arrives (*Met.* 6.9–10) and there is no description of the palace. Similarly, there is an elaborate description of Venus as Psyche first sees her:

> Because apart, upon a golden throne
> Of marvellous work, a woman sat alone,
> Watching the dancers with a smiling face,
> Whose beauty sole had lighted up the place.
> A crown there was upon her glorious head,
> A garland round about her girdlestead,
> Where matchless wonders of the hidden sea
> Were brought together and set wonderfully;
> Naked she was of all else, but her hair
> About her body rippled here and there,

And lay in heaps upon the golden seat,
And even touched the gold cloth where her feet
Lay amid roses—ah, how kind she seemed!
What depths of love from out her grey eyes beamed…

(ll. 1631–44)

Here we can see consciously medievalizing and Renaissance colour mixed with contemporary pre-Raphaelite aesthetics. The noun ‘girdlestead’ comes from Middle English poetry,[29] while the idea of an alluring divine figure clothed only in hair and surrounded by maidens derives from the ‘faire witch’ Acrasia in the Bower of Bliss in Spenser’s *Faerie Queen* (II.12.42–87, especially l. 66). Venus’ long hair surely also recalls the famously luxuriant coiffures of pre-Raphaelite models such as Morris’s own wife Jane and Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s wife Elizabeth Siddall, both depicted by Rossetti in such paintings as *Fair Rosamund* (1861, Siddall) and *Proserpine* (1874, Morris).[30]

One key difference between the Venus of Morris and that of Apuleius is that here Morris once again chooses to anticipate the happy ending of the story by making Venus have some feeling for Psyche, even at this moment where she is about to make her underlings beat her (as in Apuleius). Morris here excludes the undignified abuse that Venus piles on Psyche about the illegitimacy of her marriage to Cupid and of their forthcoming child (*Met.* 6.9, consistent with his general exclusion of her pregnancy); Venus is testing the mettle of her future daughter-in-law rather than simply being vindictive, as she is in Apuleius. Once more Morris makes a more coherent narrative than the original, where Venus is simply told to accept the marriage by Jupiter after consistently opposing it (*Met.* 6.23).

This pattern of testing Psyche’s character becomes the motivation for the four tasks imposed by Venus, which in Apuleius, like the labours of Hercules, are clearly intended to lead to Psyche’s demise. When Venus instructs Psyche to go down to the Underworld, the idea that the two may ultimately be reconciled is explicit:

‘The gods are good to thee,
Nor shalt thou always be mine enemy;
But one more task I charge thee with to-day,
For unto Proserpine take thou thy way,
And give this golden casket to her hands,
And pray the fair Queen of the gloomy lands
To fill the void shell with that beauty rare

That long ago as queen did set her there;
Nor needest thou to fail in this new thing,
Who hast to-day the heart and wit to bring
This dreadful water, and return alive;
And, that thou may'st the more in this thing strive,
If thou returnest I will show at last
My kindness unto thee, and all the past
Shalt thou remember as an ugly dream.'

(ll. 2011–25)

In Apuleius, Psyche is advised about how to negotiate her Underworld visit safely by a magic speaking tower (*Met.* 6.17–19), an intervention that has little narrative motivation. In Morris, the tower as magic helper is replaced by the ghost of an unburied dead queen, who haunts a tower, feels sympathy for her royal successor, and asks for burial in return for her aid (as seen in these lines that form the start and end of her long speech):

'Have thou no fear
The hollow words of one long slain to hear!
Thou livest, and thy hope is not yet dead,
And if thou heedest me, thou well may'st tread
The road to hell, and yet return again…

(ll. 2064–9)

O beautiful, when safe thou com'st again,
Remember me, who lie here in such pain
Unburied; set me in some tomb of stone.
When thou hast gathered every little bone;
But never shalt thou set thereon a name,
Because my ending was with grief and shame,
Who was a Queen like thee long years agone,
And in this tower, so long have lain alone.'

(ll. 2137–44)

This is a scene of medievalizing romantic colour, though the request of the unburied for burial to an Underworld-traversing protagonist surely recalls the similar appeal of Palinurus to Aeneas in Vergil (*Aen.* 6.364–71).

The softening of the gods towards Psyche shown by Venus[31] is also evident in her interactions with Proserpina, who greets her enthusiastically on her arrival in the world below, a speech added by Morris):

'Welcome here,
O messenger of Venus! thou art dear
To me thyself indeed, for of thy grace

> And loveliness we know e’en in this place;
> Rest thee then, fair one, on this royal bed
> And with some dainty food shalt thou be fed;
> Ho, ye who wait, bring in the tables now!’
>
> (ll. 2247–55)

In a nice touch of contemporary social comedy, Proserpina is ‘’twixt anger and surprise’ when Psyche, obeying vital instructions, refuses these delicacies in favour of simple bread she has brought from the world above (modifying Apuleius, where she asks for it below). But her continuing sympathy is shown by the speech with which she dispatches Psyche from the Underworld, showing concern that if she stays longer she may be in danger:

> Then sighing scarcely could she turn away
> When with the casket came the Queen once more,
> And said, ‘Haste now to leave this shadowy shore
> Before thou changest: even now I see
> Thine eyes are growing strange, though look’st on me
> Ee’n as the linnet looks upon the snake.
> Behold, thy wisely-guarded treasure take,
> And let thy breath of life no longer move
> The shadows with the memories of past love.’
>
> (ll. 2291–300)

Following his consistent presentation of the story’s deities as more dignified than their originals, Morris excludes the scene in which Jupiter criticizes Cupid for attacking him with passion and making him commit frequent adulteries (*Met.* 6.22), but nevertheless agrees to Psyche’s apotheosis. Indeed, his narrator archly claims that he knows nothing about it:

> With what words Love unto the Father prayed
> I know not, nor what deeds the balance weighed;
> But this I know, that he prayed not in vain,
> And Psyche’s life the heavenly crown shall gain…
>
> (ll. 2399–402)

On similar grounds, he also excises Jupiter’s speech to the assembled gods (*Met.* 6.23), in which he says it is time for Cupid to end his considerable youthful peccadilloes in the respectability of marriage.

It has already been noted that some of Morris’s expansions of the original are owed to visual art. Close to the conclusion, we find an added

scene in which Psyche and Venus are reconciled, one that is absent from Apuleius:

> Unto the goddess did she draw anear
> And knelt adown before her golden seat,
> Laying the fatal casket at her feet:
> Then at the first no word the Sea-Born said,
> But looked afar over her golden head,
> Pondering upon the mighty deeds of fate:
> While Psyche still, as one who well may wait,
> Knelt, calm and motionless, nor said a word,
> But ever thought of her sweet lovesome lord.
> At last the Queen said, 'Girl, I bid thee rise,
> For now thou hast found favour in mine eyes
> That in this place thou hast endured of me,
> Although because of it, thy joy indeed
> Shall now be more, that pleasure is thy meed.'
> Then bending, on the forehead did she kiss
> Fair Psyche, who turned red for shame and bliss;
> But Venus smiled again on her, and said,
> 'Go now, and bathe, and be as well arrayed
> As thou shouldst be, to sit beside my son;
> I think thy life on earth is well-nigh done.'
>
> (ll. 2412–34)

This scene (followed by yet another, more decorous depiction of Psyche bathing) is derived from La Fontaine's *Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (treated in Chapter 2), and was famously depicted by the Dufour wallpapers of 1815.[32] Note, too, the strong Christianizing element: Venus speaks to Psyche like the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (cf. Luke 1:30 KJV: 'Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God'), an echo that would be easily picked up by pious Victorian readers.[33] Psyche is made a paradigm of contemporary womanhood: this is a version of Apuleius' story that has been carefully crafted for the tastes and horizons of a contemporary British audience.

Morris's version of C&P was soon (appropriately for a great designer) multiply enshrined in pictorial form through his close friend the Pre-Raphaelite painter Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98). The aristocratic artist George Howard (later the ninth earl of Carlisle and father-in-law of the classical scholar Gilbert Murray) and his wife Rosalind commissioned a studio house from Morris's friend the architect Philip Webb at 1 Palace

Green, Kensington, London, planned and constructed just at the time when *The Earthly Paradise* was being published (1868–70).[34] The interior was decorated by Morris's design company (Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., 'The Firm'); in the dining room, Morris worked on the ceiling and walls from 1870 until 1881, while from 1870 to 1882 Burne-Jones painted a series of twelve oil canvases shaped specially to fit the room depicting the story of Cupid and Psyche as told by Morris,[35] perhaps a reminiscence of the use of the same story in the ceiling frescoes by Raphael and Giulio Romano of the Loggia di Psiche (semi-outdoors dining room) at the Villa Farnesina in Rome.[36] After Howard's widow sold the house in 1920, her daughters presented Burne-Jones's canvases to the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, where they are still to be found.[37]

As he worked on the 1 Palace Green dining-room project, Burne-Jones (as often) produced other versions of his commissioned mural canvases as easel paintings.[38] Four further interpretations of his *Cupid Finding Psyche* there (a scene added to the Apuleian story by Morris) are known, in various media and sizes, one of which is illustrated in Fig. 7.[39] Pictures from Morris's story outside the Palace Green cycle of twelve scenes were also forthcoming at this time and later: three of *Cupid Delivering Psyche* in the 1860s and 1870s,[40] the vivid oil *Pan and Psyche* (1872–4) at Harvard,[41] and (as late as 1895) the majestic oil *The Wedding of Psyche* now in Brussels (see Fig. 8).[42]

Fig. 7 Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898), *Cupid Finding Psyche Asleep by a Fountain*. Palace Green Murals (1872–81). Photo: Birmingham Museums Trust. Reproduced under Creative Commons Zero Licence (CC0).

Fig. 8 Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98), *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* (1895). Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp, Belgium. In public domain. Reproduced from https://www.wikiart.org/en/edward-burne-jones/the-wedding-of-psyche-1895.

Alongside these larger projects, in these same years Burne-Jones worked on potential book illustrations for this particular episode of *The Earthly Paradise*, which was evidently a personal favourite.[43] At the time of the poem's composition, Burne-Jones had designed a series of wood engravings to illustrate Morris's version of the C&P story; more than forty of these were completed in the period 1865–8, mostly engraved by Morris himself (see Fig. 9).[44] Trial pages of text with engravings were set up with the Chiswick Press in the 1860s[45] but were felt to be unsatisfactory by both artists.[46] In the 1890s Morris had hopes of resuscitating the project for the great enterprise of his last years, the Kelmscott Press, but in the end the eight-volume Kelmscott edition of *The Earthy Paradise* appeared without illustrations after Morris's death (published 1896–7). The Burne-Jones woodcuts for the C&P episode (many engraved by Morris himself) were eventually printed in 1974 in a beautiful collectors' edition,[47] at last bringing the project together more than a century after its conception.[48]

Psyche in Charon's Boat.
" But midmost of that water did arise
A dead man, pale, with ghostly staring eyes."
The Story of Cupid and Psyche in "The Earthly Paradise."
From a design by Edward Burne-Jones, engraved on wood by William Morris.
From "The Collected Works of William Morris." (Longmans.)

Fig. 9 Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98), *Psyche in Charon's Boat*. Illustration for Morris's *Earthly Paradise*. In Alf Mattison's collection of William Morris items. Further information on the collection: https://library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections/view/1848/william_morris_collected_by_alf_mattison. Reproduced with the kind permission of Special Collections, Leeds University Library (Brotherton Collection).

(b) Robert Bridges, *Eros and Psyche* (1885, 1894)

Morris's version of the story was followed a generation later by the similarly substantial retelling by Robert Bridges (1844–1930), the future Poet Laureate: *Eros and Psyche: A Narrative Poem in Twelve Measures*

(first edition 1885, second edition 1894).[49] Bridges received a conventional elite education in classics at Eton and Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and much of his output shows the impact of classical literature and mythology.[50] *Eros and Psyche* uses Morris's calendrical framework for the overall plan of *The Earthly Paradise* in four sequential 'quarters' labelled with the appropriate seasons, again starting with March and ending with February: Spring: March corresponds to *Met*. 4.28–31, April to *Met.* 4.32–5, May to *Met.* 5.1–6; Summer: June to *Met.* 5.7–13, July to *Met.* 5.14–25, August to *Met.* 5.25–7; Autumn: September to *Met.* 5.23–31, October to *Met.* 6.1–5, November to *Met.* 6.6–10; Winter: December to *Met.* 6.10–15, January to *Met.* 6.15–21, February to *Met.* 6.21–4. The poem's metre is even more evidently medievalizing than the metre of Morris: it is written in seven-line stanzas, which are close to Chaucer's rhyme royal (*ababbcc*, quatrain plus tercet), using the rhyming scheme *ababccb* (quatrain plus varied tercet). Each stanza represents a day in the year, so the poem has 365 stanzas overall plus a 2-line envoi at the end, a total of 2,557 lines, very similar to Morris's 2,487 lines; but Bridges's version is less medievalizing in style than that of Morris, with a relatively contemporary lexicon and syntax comparable to the mild archaism of his other poems. Bridges was perhaps also inspired by the work of his friend Coventry Patmore (1823–96), who in 1877 had published his lyric collection *The Unknown Eros*, in which several poems related to the story of Psyche appeared.[51]

Like Morris, Bridges modified the original by extensive interpolation and expansion, expanding the earlier part of the story in particular.[52] His opening (1 March) sets the story in Crete, where Morris had retained Apuleius' non-specific Greek setting,[53] and contains virtually no element of the original:

> In midmost length of hundred-citied Crete,
> The land that cradled Zeus of old renown;
> Where first Demeter nurseried her wheat.
> And Minos fashioned Law, ere he went down
> To judge the shrinking hordes of Hell's domain;
> There dwelt a King on the Omphalian plain
> Eastward of Ida, in a little town.

Psyche is rather more fully characterized in this opening section here than in the original (or in Morris's adaptation); as, for example, in the French seventeenth-century stage versions treated in Chapter 2, Psyche takes on the

role of Iphigenia, sacrificing herself with noble resolution (16 and 17 April):

> Then spake she to the King and said ‘O Sire,
> Why wilt thou veil those venerable eyes
> With piteous tears, which must of me require
> More tears again than for myself arise?
> Then, on the day my beauty first o’erstept
> Its mortal place it had been well to have wept;
> But now the fault beyond our ruing lies.
>
> As to be worship’d was my whole whole undoing,
> So must my submission must the forfeit pay:
> And welcome were the morning of my wooing,
> Tho’ after it should dawn no other day.
> Up to the mountain! For I hear the voice
> Of my beloved on the wind, *Rejoice,*
> *Aris, my love, my fair one, and come away*!’

Here Psyche faces with courage the ‘savage beast’ who has been predicted as her husband by the oracle of Apollo (11 April): she consoles herself with the words of the bridegroom to the bride in the biblical Song of Solomon (2:10 KJV), ‘My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away’, a striking biblical citation, which suggests that she is a virtuous and obedient Christian girl though in a pagan classical context; as in Morris’s version, scriptural quotation is a form of domestication for a Victorian readership.[54] In his brief notes on the poem, Bridges comments: ‘I have made a gentler characterization of Psyche, who desires more care in handling the motives of her conduct than was perhaps felt in Apuleius’ time and country.’[55] In similar harmony with contemporary ideas of womanhood, her union with Cupid is treated as a full marriage, confirmed as such by the disembodied voices of the palace (23 May). This allows Bridges (unlike Morris) to mention her pregnancy and present Cupid as a typical concerned husband alongside his graver role as divine warner (18 June):

> ‘And dearest wife’, he said, since tis not long
> Ere one will come to share thy secrecy,
> And be thy babe and mine: let nothing wrong
> The happy months of thy maternity.
> If thou keep trust, then shalt thou see thy child
> A god: but if to try though be beguiled,
> The lot of both is death and misery.’

Bridges's version presents a number of deliberately anachronistic moments.[56] The description of the unseen orchestra and singers at Cupid's palace is accompanied by an acrostich, which suggests the style of music played (15 May):

> P athetic strains and passionate they wove,
> U rgent in ecstasies of heavenly sense,
> R esponsive rivalries, that, while they strove,
> C ombined in full harmonious suspense,
> E ntracing wild desire, then fell at last
> L ull'd in soft closes, and with gay contrast
> L aunch'd forth their fresh unwearied excellence.

Bridges's enthusiasm for the music of the great English composer Henry Purcell (1659–95) was shown in the dedication of the original 1885 edition of *Eros and Psyche* to 'The Celestial Spirit of Henry Purcell, by an Unworthy Lover', and by his later collaboration with Sir Hubert Parry in providing the lyrics for the latter's 'Invocation to Music—An Ode in Honour of Henry Purcell', written and performed for the bicentenary of Purcell's death in 1895. It was very much of the Victorian moment: the Purcell Society had been founded to promote the composer's work in 1876, and the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a major revival of Purcell's music.[57] Another striking contemporary element is the description of a sumptuous sunset in the stanza for 25 March, which is generally agreed to draw on the exceptionally colourful sunsets of the winter of 1883–4 caused by the 1883 Krakatoa eruption:[58]

> Broad and low down, where late the sun had been
> A wealth of orange gold was thickly shed,
> Fading above into a field of green,
> Like apples ere they ripen into red,
> Then to the height a variable hue
> Of rose and pink and crimson freak'd with blue,
> And olive-bordered clouds o'er lilac led.

Bridges's version, then, like Morris's, bears the clear marks of its own time.

Another complete verse version that, though it lies strictly outside the Victorian period chronologically, can be briefly discussed as a coda to Bridges is that of his contemporary G. R. Woodward (1848–1934), published in 1912.[59] Woodward, a country clergyman of high education and literary culture, was a significant figure in English church music and the

author of many texts for hymns and carols.[60] His version is written in iambic tetrameter couplets in nine cantos: in both of these features it echoes the form of Samuel Butler's anti-Puritan satire *Hudibras* of 1674–8. This might suggest that the author saw the tale as a piece of light entertainment; each of the nine cantos is headed by the name of one of the Muses, which recalls the traditional manner of presenting the nine books of the *Histories* of Herodotus,[61] perhaps reflecting a view that Apuleius' tale is a diverting prose narrative like the lighter parts of the classical Greek historian. The verbal texture of this version is as quaintly archaic in 1912 as its metre—here is the introduction of Psyche from the first canto, 'Clio':

> Yet the beauty, form and grace
> Of the daughter third in place
> Was above her first or second
> Sister far more highly reckon'd:
> Thousandfold was she the best.
> Tongue would fail ere it express'd
> Or in ear of man recounted
> How this daughter third surmounted
> Either of her sisters twain
> E'en as they are, o'er hill and plain,
> Did in beauty far excel
> Any other damozel.
>
> (1.13–24)

Here the feminine rhymes ('second/reckon'd') suggest a Hudibrastic auntiness, while the archaic 'damozel' (symptomatic of the general lexical approach in the poem[62]) looks to the language of Spenser and its revival by pre-Raphaelite poets such as Rossetti (whose poem 'The Blessed Damozel' (first published 1850 and several times subsequently revised) was followed up by several paintings of the same title in the 1870s).[63] It is a fairly close version, nothing like as expansive as those by Bridges and Morris, and draws the reader's attention to the original at the start of each canto by citing the Latin words of the point of the story reached: the segmentation of the text is artistically executed, with the second and third cantos ending with a departure by Cupid and the seventh and eighth ending with an actual or envisaged departure by Venus. Its limited qualities of poetic expression are clear from the extract above.

3. C&P and the Nineteenth-Century Novel

The publisher of a popular collection of novels from all over the world, Richard Bentley, prefaced each of the 126 volumes in the famous 'Standard Novels' series (running 1831–45) with a discussion of fiction as the most attractive form of literature, where, alongside Boccaccio, C&P becomes his example of popular fiction: 'Apuleius is better remembered by his fable of Cupid and Psyche than by his abstruser Platonic writings.' The series includes, for example, the complete works of Jane Austen (e.g. no. XXX, 1830, is her *Pride and Prejudice*), and, importantly, the first editions of Bulwer-Lytton's *Eugene Aram* (no. XXXIV, 1832) and *The Last Days of Pompeii* (no. LXXIV, 1834). It made novels available cheaply, and thus widely, often for the first time. Bentley therefore presented Cupid and Psyche, specifically defined as novel-style entertainment, to a large audience, and situated this now increasingly popular genre of mass entertainment with the classics, Boccaccio and Apuleius.

The emergence of the novel as the hegemonic literary form in English in the nineteenth century was likewise accompanied by some recognizable citations of the major Roman novels of Petronius and Apuleius.[64] Such evocation in Victorian novels of the Latin texts that could plausibly be seen as the generic ancestors of modern prose fiction amounts to an implicit claim that the apparently recent and vernacular novel has an authentic classical pedigree and merits consideration alongside more obviously established literary forms such as epic, verse drama, and lyric poetry, which derive some of their status from evident classical antecedents. Bulwer-Lytton, in his preface to *The Last Days of Pompeii* of 1834 (see below), is keen to assert the novel's literary dignity in a time when it was very much under question,[65] and even Anthony Trollope, writing half a century later in his posthumously published *Autobiography* (1883), is still concerned to emphasize the rise of the novel from an object of elite disdain in the 1830s to the high prestige of his own time.[66] The romantic plot of C&P, which presents true lovers overcoming problems to achieve an eventually happy marriage, has an obvious resemblance to the plotline of the conventional Victorian novel, and was consequently popular in prose fiction as in verse narrative, not least in female novelists. As noted above, Clemence Schultze has recently shown how the historical romance *Love and Life* (1880) by the

prolific novelist Charlotte M. Yonge is a detailed rewriting of C&P;[67] this is the only full-length adaptation in English prose fiction known to us from this period. Here I will pick out a few instances of more small-scale allusions from better-known novelists.

(a) Edward Bulwer-Lytton

The Last Days of Pompeii (1834, hereafter *LDP*) by the prolific novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton,[68] later Baron Lytton (1803–73), was perhaps the most popular historical fiction in English of the whole nineteenth century, following up the successes of Sir Walter Scott in the previous generation.[69] Written as the result of Bulwer-Lytton's stay at Naples in the winter of 1832–3, its preface makes it clear that it constitutes at least partly a literary response to the romantic excitement of visiting the ruins of Pompeii; its final pages and footnotes present the work as the supposed history of bodies and buildings discovered at Pompeii in the previous century, and there is a clear and constant interest in archaeological realism and reconstruction.[70] Its overall plot combines romance with sensation, as a bare summary shows: amid the luxury and decadence of the doomed Pompeii, the Athenian Glaucus loves the beautiful Greek Ione, while the blind flower-girl Nydia is secretly in love with Glaucus. The evil Egyptian priest Arbaces wants Ione for himself; his corrupt cult of Isis is contrasted with the virtues of an early Christian community led by Olinthus. In the eruption of Vesuvius, Nydia sacrifices herself to save Glaucus and Ione, who escape to Rome and eventually become Christians. *LDP*, which with *Valerius* (1821; appropriately by J. G. Lockhart, the son-in-law and biographer of Sir Walter Scott), is one of the earliest English historical novels set in the Roman Empire, is also appropriately aware of its novelistic predecessors in Roman literature.[71]

One element of this is a series of allusions to Cupid and Psyche, whose story (a loving couple united after various travails) is clearly analogous to that of Glaucus and Ione, allusions that can suggest how Bulwer-Lytton read Apuleius' novel. In the climax to book 1, chapter 8, Arbaces draws Ione's brother Apaecides into membership of his cult of Isis, where the young Greek is seduced by a hymn to Eros (= Cupid), sung by 'a chorus of

voices, bland and melting as those which waked Psyche in the halls of love'. Appropriately, this evokes the invisible choir in Cupid's magic palace, to which Psyche is taken at the start of their relationship (*Met*. 5.3): 'Then the harmonious voices of a tuneful choir struck her ears, so that it was clear that a choral group was in attendance, though no person could be seen.'[72] Cupid's harmless serenade is turned into a mode of Oriental seduction, and in general Lytton treats the cult of Isis as wholly decadent and corrupt, part of the worthless old world that Christianity will replace, an interesting contrast with the usual positive view of the presentation of the Isis-cult in the last book of Apuleius' novel.[73] In the same scene, a group of three maidens perform a seductive dance for the young man 'such as Cytherea taught her handmaids in the marriage-feast of Psyche and her son'; here we find an allusion to Venus' dancing at the wedding of Cupid and Psyche (cf. *Met*. 6.24); again this celebration of the happy ending in Apuleius' novel is turned to darker purposes in *LDP* in the attempted corruption of a young man. Lytton's episode in *LDP* thus alludes to both the beginning and the ending of the Cupid and Psyche story, a nice example of 'bookending' intertextuality.

In the penultimate chapter of the work (book 5, chapter 9), Nydia, seeking to escape from the ruins of Pompeii and rejoin Glaucus and Ione, is compared to the wandering Psyche of *Met.* 5-6, set on rejoining Cupid: 'Weak, exposed, yet fearless, supported but by one wish, she was a very emblem of Psyche in her wanderings, of Hope, walking through the Valley of the Shadow.'. This more general allusion characterizes Nydia as sympathetic, since it recalls the similarly sympathetic presentation of Psyche in Apuleius; it is also pathetic, since Nydia, unlike Psyche, will not experience a happy end to her wandering but will disappear forever in the following chapter. Bulwer-Lytton interestingly overlays this with an echo of another classic text dear to the nineteenth century,[74] John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), in which the protagonist Christian (following Psalms 23:4) successfully crosses the Valley of the Shadow of Death and is later accompanied by his fellow-pilgrim Hopeful, a miniature indication of the Christian direction of *LDP* noted above. Bulwer-Lytton may have been aware that the story of Cupid and Psyche had been treated as a Christian allegory since Fulgentius in the sixth century CE;[75] the same Christian allegory is explicitly mentioned in the last chapter (book 5, 'Chapter the Last'), where Glaucus reflects in a letter on how he and Ione have found

true love within the new context of Christianity, alluding to the name-allegories of Apuleius' tale: 'This is the true type of the dark fable of our Grecian Eros and Psyche—it is, in truth, the soul asleep in the arms of love.' In sum, we can see that Bulwer-Lytton in *LDP* treats the Cupid and Psyche story as a narrative parallel for his romantic plot of troubled lovers who achieve union in the end, and that he is aware of its Christian symbolic interpretation.

(b) Charlotte Brontë

Charlotte Brontë (1816–55) was able to study classical literature[76] and the Platonic allegories of Love and the Soul in magazines subscribed to by her Yorkshire clergyman father, *Blackwoods* and *Fraser's*.[77] The family also owned a copy of *Lemprière's Dictionary*, which was so central to Keats's reception of C&P (see Chapter 4).[78] There is no firm evidence that Charlotte read Mary Tighe's *Psyche* (also see Chapter 4), but Tighe's poetry and life were discussed in *Blackwood's*,[79] and Tighe's uncle Thomas Tighe was an early friend and benefactor of Patrick Brontë, Charlotte's father.[80] In her 1850 preface to her sister Emily's 1847 *Wuthering Heights*, Charlotte mentions Psyche specifically in a list of mythological characters. She might have had access to Thomas Taylor's translation or Hudson Gurney's adaptation from the previous generation (see Chapter 4), or La Fontaine's seventeenth-century novelization (see Chapter 2).[81]

The plot of *Jane Eyre* (hereafter *JE*), often associated with fairy tales,[82] shows some inventive use of C&P imagery, with Jane as the resilient and ultimately successful female protagonist resembling Psyche.[83] Ranger (2020: 365) points out how Jane's tour of Mr Rochester's Thornfield House resembles Psyche's arrival at Cupid's palace, which she visits and is in awe of long before she meets its master. In both cases, when the heroine finally meets the master and her future husband, it is only at night, and she flees his house after a startling discovery: the fact that she has in fact tried to kill Cupid, not a monster, in C&P, or that the Byronic hero Rochester[84] is already married in *JE*. The disembodied voices Jane hears in Thornfield resemble those of the servants Psyche hears in Cupid's palace, and turn out to be the mad laughter of the first Mrs Rochester, the madwoman

incarcerated in the attic, and of her carer servant Grace Poole (chs 11, 12, 15). Like Psyche, Jane is curious; her curiosity stretches to the nature of Mr Rochester even before meeting him: ‘my wish to gain a more definite notion of his identity’ (ch. 11; also ch. 24), and the source of the disembodied laughter she hears in Thornfield.

Jane’s childhood as narrated in *JE* may echo *C&P*; she is the unwanted youngest child in her aunt’s household, and her two older cousins are both beautiful and selfish like Psyche’s pair of sisters (ch. 2), and end by becoming self-destructively extreme, one in religion, the other in frivolity (chs 21–2). For his part, Mr Rochester (though not conventionally handsome, just as Jane is not outstandingly beautiful) bears some resemblance to Cupid, the beast prophesied to wed Psyche. At Jane’s first encounter with him, she imagines him to be a monstrous Gytrash from children’s tales, ‘in the form of horse, mule, or large dog’ (ch. 12), even though Rochester’s fall dispels this imagination. Despite being hurt, he metaphorically flies away from the encounter. Like Psyche with Cupid, Jane causes Rochester’s wound when she first sees him, by making his horse shy, and he sprains his ankle. The gap of social status between them, Rochester being landed gentry, Jane at first at least a penniless governess and then herself a wealthy heiress and Rochester’s equal, reflects the changing social status of Apuleius’ couple.

The first Mrs Rochester is in some ways Jane’s *alter ego*,[85] and it is not Jane but Bertha who attempts (Psyche-like) to burn her husband (twice). The first time, Jane finds his bed alight and a candlestick on the floor, and it is Jane who extinguishes the flames after noting he is still asleep, like Cupid before he is roused: ‘In the midst of blaze and vapour, Mr Rochester lay stretched motionless, in deep sleep’ (ch.15). The second time, Bertha carries a candle and wreaks destruction, tearing apart Jane’s wedding veil (‘she thrust up her candle close to my face’ (ch. 25)). In the same chapter, a nervous Jane gathers apples from the orchard of her proposal and divides ‘the ripe from the unripe’, a Psyche-like task.[86]

Jane is described as a moth, perhaps evoking Psyche = ‘butterfly’, in the proposal scene of chapter 23 (‘The moth roamed away. I was sheepishly retreating also’), when Rochester wants to entrap her in an illegitimate marriage; in Apuleius, legal questions hang over Cupid and Psyche’s initial union, too, and only the wedding at the end of the novel legitimizes the marriage properly.[87] The end of the novel describes Jane and Rochester’s

happiness and the birth of a baby boy as a sign of reconciliation (‘God had tempered judgment with mercy’ (ch. 38)), paralleling the birth of Voluptas in C&P.

(c) W. M. Thackeray

William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63) is a sophisticated user of classical allusion.[88] In his semi-autobiographical *Pendennis* (1848–50, the humble porter’s daughter Fanny Bolton, after a brief infatuation with the hero Arthur Pendennis himself, is about to marry the unappealing and uncouth surgeon Samuel Huxter, of whom Pendennis has a low opinion. The hero expresses this to his then fiancée:

> ‘I should have liked Fanny to have come to a better end than that. I don’t like histories that end in that cynical way; and when we arrive at the conclusion of the story of a pretty girl’s passion, to find such a figure as Huxter’s at the last page of the tale. Is a life a compromise, my lady fair, and the end of the battle of love an ignoble surrender? Is the search for the Cupid which my poor little Psyche pursued in the darkness—the god of her soul’s longing—the god of the blooming cheek and rainbow pinions,—to result in Huxter smelling of tobacco and gallipots?[89] I wish, though I don’t see it in life, that people could be like Jenny and Jessamy, or my Lord and Lady Clementina in the story-books and fashionable novels, and at once under the ceremony, and, as it were, at the parson’s benediction, become perfectly handsome and good and happy ever after.’ (ch. 65)

Here the phrase ‘poor little Psyche’ translates *Psyche misella* at *Met.* 5.18, an expression of narrative sympathy for Psyche when she is deceived by her wicked sisters, and the passage alludes to the scene of revelation at *Met.* 5.21–2, where Psyche finds that the monster she expected is in fact the wondrous Cupid (for ‘cheeks’, cf. 5.22 *genas*; for ‘pinions’, cf. 5.22 *pinnae*). Thackeray presents an ironic reversal of the original: Pendennis implies that Fanny/Psyche, having first been in love with himself (imagined by her as Cupid), now has to settle for the less attractive Huxter (the expected monster). Later in the same conversation he casts himself as Psyche, referring snobbishly to his own youthful misadventure in love with the lower-class actress Emily Fotheringhay:

> I made my venture when I was eighteen, and lighted my lamp and went in search of Cupid. And what was my discovery of love? A vulgar dancing-woman!

Pendennis here shows his acquaintance with the plot and Latin text of C&P, plausible for one who in the novel is a literary man and novelist educated at the prestigious school ‘Greyfriars’ and ‘St Boniface’s College, Oxbridge’,[90] a thinly disguised version of the novelist’s own time at Charterhouse and Trinity College, Cambridge;[91] this level of allusion appeals to a male elite readership as well as to his female interlocutor. A more superficial acquaintance with the story of C&P is shown by his uncle and mentor Major Pendennis, who was educated at the same school (ch. 2) but is markedly less intellectual. The major is keen that Arthur (‘Pen’) should marry the selfish and untrustworthy Blanche Amory for her potential financial prospects (ch. 60) and sets out his reasoning as follows:

> The great point in marriage is for people to agree to be useful to one another. The lady brings the means, and the gentleman avails himself of them. My boy’s wife brings the horse, and begad Pen goes in and wins the plate. That’s what I call a sensible union. A couple like that have something to talk to each other about when they come together. If you had Cupid himself to talk to—if Blanche and Pen were Cupid and Psyche, begad—they’d begin to yawn after a few evenings, if they had nothing but sentiment to speak on.

Here all that is needed is the idea that Cupid and Psyche present an example of a romantic love match, a level of allusion fully suitable to the speaker.

Thackeray seems to be intrigued with the moment in Apuleius where Cupid’s true identity is revealed, one very popular in visual art.[92] He points to it again in *The Virginians* (1857–9), set during the American War of Independence and featuring George Washington as a minor character, where the handsome but brainless Harry Warrington is recovering from a riding accident in bed under the ministrations of the young Theo Lambert and her mother. The narrator imagines a soliloquy on Theo’s part:

> ‘Is this the hero with whom my mamma and I have been in love for these twenty-four hours, and whom we have endowed with every perfection? How beautiful, pale, and graceful he looked yesterday as he lay on the ground! How his curls fell over his face! How sad it was to see his poor white arm, and the blood trickling from it when papa bled him! And now he is well and amongst us, he is handsome certainly, but oh, is it possible he is—he is stupid?’.When she lighted the lamp and looked at him, did Psyche find Cupid out; and is that the meaning of the old allegory? The wings of love drop off at this discovery. The fancy can no more soar and disport in skyey regions, the beloved object ceases at once to be celestial, and remains plodding on earth, entirely unromantic and substantial. (ch. 22)

Here again we have a comic and ironic reversal of the original: Harry is handsome and thought to be highly attractive but revealed as stupid and therefore less attractive for Theo by his recent confusion of the Persians and

Prussians, whereas Cupid was thought to be a monster (*Met.* 4.32, 5.19) highly unattractive but revealed as the opposite. Thackeray also exploits the scene of Cupid's departure: Theo's incapacity to 'soar and disport in skyey regions' looks to Psyche's attempt to hang on to Cupid as he flies off (*Met.* 5.24) and her falling to the ground (cf. 'plodding on earth'). As with Thackeray's use of Vergil,[93] we can see him deploying the same classical reference more than once, and in similar mode.

In chapter 39 of *The Newcomes* (1854–5) the hero Clive Newcome, with his artist friend J. J. Ridley, is visiting the now Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, and is not impressed by its collection:

> 'After all', says Clive, 'what rubbish these second-rate statues are! what a great hulking abortion is this brute of a Farnese Hercules! There's only one bit in the whole gallery that is worth a twopenny-piece'.
>
> It was the beautiful fragment called Psyche. J.J. smiled as his comrade spoke in admiration of this statue—in the slim shape, in the delicate formation of the neck, in the haughty virginal expression, the Psyche is not unlike the Diana of the Louvre—and the Diana of the Louvre we have said was like a certain young lady.

This seems to be the so-called Psyche statue from Capua, probably a Roman copy of a Greek original, still in the museum's collection;[94] the 'certain young lady' is Clive's cousin Ethel Newcome, whom he seems likely to marry at the end of the novel. Similarly, in a later chapter of the novel, Clive and Ethel are described walking in the gardens of the fictional Hotel de Florac in Paris, where there is a statue of Cupid and Psyche (ch. 47—quite possibly the Capitoline group of Fig. 4, which featured in previous novels as a genre marker, see Chapters 3 and 4): 'There is Cupid, who has been at the point of kissing Psyche this half-century at least, though the delicious event has never come off, through all those blazing summers and dreary winters.' Here again the work of art seems to reflect the romance between the two cousins, which is clear from the conversation they have subsequently in the same location.[95] As we shall see with George Eliot, Victorian receptions of C&P, just like those of the Romantics, were often influenced by the artworks based on the story that elite travellers saw on their continental journeys.

(d) George Eliot

George Eliot (Mary Anne/Marian Evans/Cross, 1819–80) was a formidably learned writer with a wide knowledge of classical literature.[96] In chapter 13 of her first novel *Adam Bede* (1859), entitled ‘Evening in the Woods’, the handsome and susceptible gentleman Arthur Donnithorne, heir to the local estate, has a fateful encounter with the pretty dairymaid Hetty Sorrel in the woods, where their kiss leads ultimately to her seduction and pregnancy and his disgrace and departure (at the end of the novel he returns to his estate a chastened man and saves Hetty from the death penalty for infanticide): ‘He may be a shepherd in Arcadia for aught he knows, he may be the first youth kissing the first maiden, he may be Eros himself, sipping the lips of Psyche —it is all one.’

Here Eliot cites C&P to suggest that sexual desire is the same in all contexts, but, as Kirsten Hall has suggested, Hetty’s characterization in *Adam Bede* alludes to that of the Apuleian Psyche more than once.[97] Hetty sees the good-looking and elite Arthur as a Cupid-like divinity, and she herself is repeatedly compared to a fluttering butterfly, not only fitting for her thoughtless prettiness but also alluding to the meaning of Psyche in Greek (‘soul’ or ‘butterfly’); like that of Cupid and Psyche, their union in marriage is in principle blocked by a radical difference in status (elite/non-elite, immortal/mortal). One could add that their meeting here is a version of Psyche’s discovery of Cupid’s identity at *Met.* 5.23, where she heaps kisses on him having realized his identity; both Hetty and Psyche are destined for a period of suffering thereafter as pregnant wanderers, but Hetty’s tragic destiny (she kills her child and is in the end transported for life, losing even her artisan respectability) reverses that of Psyche’s ultimate apotheosis and motherhood.

Were it not for these literary patterns, this allusion to Eros and Psyche might be taken to refer only to art, as in Thackeray’s *The Newcomes* (see above); the lovers’ kiss had been a common artistic subject from the Roman Empire onwards, especially in sculpture;[98] both possibilities are available for Eliot, an art fan well read in classical literature.[99] The three references to C&P in Eliot’s later work certainly point to artistic receptions of the story rather than to Apuleius’ text; in chapter 20 of *Middlemarch* (1871–2) the warm and passionate young heroine Dorothea and her cold and pedantic older husband Casaubon on their honeymoon in Rome discuss a possible visit to the Villa Farnesina to see Raphael’s frescoes, representing according to him ‘the fable of Cupid and Psyche, which is probably the romantic

invention of a literary period, and cannot, I think, be reckoned as a genuine mythical product', while in chapter 63 of the same novel the beautiful but selfish Rosalind Lydgate is compared to a statue of Psyche when ignoring her husband:

> When Lydgate was taking part in the conversation, she never looked towards him any more than if she had been a sculptured Psyche modelled to look another way: and when, after being called out for an hour or two, he re-entered the room, she seemed unconscious of the fact.

'Looking the other way' suggests a distinctive pose with Psyche looking away from the viewer, as can be seen, for example, in an 1835 marble statue of Psyche by Ludwig von Hofer, which could be seen in a larger version at Schloss Rosenstein at Stuttgart.[100] Similarly plastic is the description in chapter 61 of *Daniel Deronda* (1876) of Daniel's eventual wife, the beautiful young Mirah Lapidoth, 'in the Psyche-mould of Mirah's frame there rested a fervid quality of emotion, sometimes rashly supposed to require the bulk of a Cleopatra', where sculpture seems to be the point of reference, referring to still virginal depictions of Psyche such as can be seen in Bertil Thorwaldsen's sculpture of 1807.[101]

(e) Lewis Carroll

Alice in Wonderland (1865) presents a heroine who resembles the Psyche of C&P in a number of ways.[102] Both are innocent young females, daughters of figures of high status,[103] who begin a series of adventures by being miraculously transported to a magical new environment, flying through the air and landing on a bed of vegetation; Psyche's conveyance by the wind to Cupid's palace ends like Alice's free fall down the rabbit-hole ('down she came upon a heap of sticks and dry leaves' (ch. 1); cf. *paulatim per devexa rupis excelsae vallis subditae florentis caespitis gremio leniter delapsam reclinat*, '[the wind] laid her gently down after she had gradually descended though the slopes of a lofty secret valley in the lap of lush grass' (*Met.* 4.35).[104] Alice consistently shows curiosity, which leads her into unwise adventures ('burning with curiosity' and 'this curious child' (ch. 1), 'She felt very curious to know what it was all about' (ch. 6), 'looking at the Cat's head with great curiosity' (ch. 8), 'Alice asked in a tone of great curiosity'

(ch. 10), ‘feeling very curious’ (ch. 11)), matching Psyche’s repeated curiosity at *Met.* 5.6, 5.19, 5.23, and 6.20, and on at least one occasion she falls into despair and lamentation (‘when she had tired herself out with trying, the poor little thing sat down and cried’ (ch. 2)), matching Psyche at *Met*. 5.5. 5.13, and 6.2–3).

On her adventures Alice encounters an unusual environment where she is strangely entertained (the Mad Hatter’s eccentric tea party, parallel to Cupid’s palace with its magic meals and invisible staff (*Met.* 5.3))[105] and a series of miraculously vocal creatures such as the White Rabbit and Cheshire Cat, one of whom gives her extensive advice (‘Advice from a Caterpillar’ (ch. 5)); compare the advice of the speaking reed at *Met*. 6.12 and the speaking tower at *Met*. 6.17–19. She also makes magical use of cakes at crucial moments to enable her to change size (chs 1 and 4), just as Psyche employs cakes to avoid the dangers of the Underworld (*Met*. 6.19–20).

The climaxes of the two stories are interestingly analogous. Like Psyche, Alice is unjustly persecuted by an older female of illustrious rank: in particular, the name of the Queen of Hearts looks like a brilliant play on the divine function of Venus, the goddess of love. Again like Psyche, that powerful female puts Alice to a stressful test in which she seeks the death of her younger enemy; the trial of the Knave of Hearts in which Alice is put in the witness box and is threatened with decapitation (‘Off with her head!’ (ch. 12)) is parallel to the labours imposed on Psyche by Venus, which are designed to lead to her death. Alice finally escapes her problematic situation by increasing in size to a point where she is beyond the power of those who surround her (ch.12); Psyche achieves her freedom by increasing in status through apotheosis, similarly attaining an unassailable position, where even Venus has to accept her.

Of course, there are substantial differences between the two narratives. Alice does not have a lover or a quest, and her story is presented as a dream (she falls asleep at the start of the novel and wakes up at the end) rather than as an embedded narrative; she has only one sister, who is benevolent, not two who are maliciously jealous. But the parallels just cited strongly suggest that the fantastic adventures of *Alice in Wonderland* look back to the extravagant tale of C&P and that Alice evokes Psyche as an unusually prominent young female protagonist.

4. Conclusion

The two forms of reception in English investigated here (long poetic adaptations and prose fiction) represent two of the major literary genres of the Victorian period. Victorian versions in a third major area, stage representation whether as play or opera, are very rare, a contrast with earlier times and places (see Introduction and Chapters 2 and 3).[106] The only appreciable extant example is the 'extravaganza' *Cupid and Psyche, or, Beautiful as a Butterfly* by the comic dramatist F. C. Burnand (1836–1917), soon to be the librettist of Arthur Sullivan's *Cox and Box* (1866).[107] This was produced as a Christmas 'burlesque' (a parodic and unpretentious comic show with music and dancing, not unlike a modern pantomime) at London's Royal Olympic Theatre in December 1864.[108] The lightweight script, which takes many liberties with the original, is full of excruciating puns, and ends with a search for a rhyme for 'Psyche' that moves through 'Crikey!' and other possibilities to 'high key'.[109] The lack of more dignified and ambitious staged receptions is striking.

The woman whose name was given to this era of British culture was not untouched by our story. On the wall of one of the corridors at Osborne House, the English royal palace on the Isle of Wight built for Queen Victoria and her husband Prince Albert to his Italian Renaissance design, we can still see an elegant bas-relief plaque in white Carrara marble, depicting Cupid and Psyche happily together in their marital bedroom. This was commissioned by Victoria as a gift for Albert for their fifth wedding anniversary in January 1845,[110] from the British sculptor John Gibson, who had worked in Rome with the great Antonio Canova and Bertil Thorwaldsen, whose statues of Cupid and Psyche have been mentioned above.[111] Perhaps Queen Victoria herself felt some interest in the figure of Psyche as a royal female protagonist who achieved a happy marriage like her own.

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[1] This chapter makes some use of material in Harrison 2018a.

[2] For convenient accounts of medievalizing taste in Victorian Britain, see Alexander (2007) and Parker and Wagner (2020).

[3] See Chapter 4 and O'Brien (2020).

[4] See Schultze (2020).

[5] Cf. Mackail (1899: i. 26–7).

[6] For an overview of Morris' poetry on classical topics, see Harrison (2015a).

[7] For Morris' life and career, see MacCarthy (1995); for his methods of poetic composition, see pp. 99–100, 262.

[8] For its complex publication history, see Boos (2002: i. 32–41).

[9] On this poem, see Boos (1990) and especially Boos (2002), which includes some useful brief notes. Boos's text and other useful material (including complete images of the Kelmscott edition) is conveniently available online at the William Morris Archive, http://morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/. Here the text is cited with the line numbers of Boos (2002).

[10] Some 21,000 words in Morris as opposed to some 9,000 in Apuleius, a vast expansion, even given the considerably greater terseness of Latin compared to English.

[11] For Marmion's work and its courtly context, see briefly Carver (2007: 355); for a convenient edition, see still Saintsbury (1906: 10–61). Boos (2002: i. 384) deserves the credit for spotting Morris's use of Marmion (recorded in her brief notes).

[12] Boos (2002: i. 384–6). Her brief critical analysis here is one of the few useful modern studies of Morris's version.

[13] Though the mention of the book in this passage points to a written stage in the transmission, perhaps an arch allusion to Apuleius.

[14] See. e.g. Mason (1994).

[15] See May (2008) for a discussion of the Judgement of Paris pantomime in Apuleius.

[16] *Iliad* 9.121–3 (seven tripods, ten talents of gold, twenty cauldrons).

[17] See Cherry (2004.) For similar catalogues of precious objects, see, e.g., ll. 531–46 (discussed below) and the finery given by Psyche to her sisters (ll. 887–96).

[18] Morris himself later practised and wrote about both dyeing and weaving: see MacCarthy (1994: 406–8), Davis (1995), and Batho (1996) (dyeing); MacCarthy (1994: 348–56) (weaving).

[19] The same modification of the original is found in Marino's 1624 *Adone* (4.87; see Chapter 1), and Wieland's adaptation of the Psyche story (see Chapter 3), which Morris had probably not read, and in Mary Tighe's *Psyche* (see Chapter 4), which he probably knew. It is also found in the German Romantic version of the Psyche story by Wieland (see Chapter 3), for the same reason.

[20] Boos (2002: i. 409) likewise points out that the 'bright circlet' at l. 737 looks forward to Psyche's future divine status.

[21] ~10% of the English work as against ~4.5% of the Latin one, a more than doubling in length.

[22] For Morris' interest in Indian fabrics, cf. https://www.wmgallery.org.uk/collection/themes/william-morris/object/snakeshead-f366-designed-1876-manufactured-post-1917. The expansion of the story's geography to India was already a feature in Tighe (see Chapter 4), which Morris adapts to his own craft-based interests.

[23] Psyche bathing naked (in the original it is simply mentioned that she bathed (*Met.* 5.3)) seems to be first depicted by Giulio Romano in the 1520s at the Palazzo Te in Mantua (see Cavicchioli 2002; 124); on one of the wallpaper panels of the great 1815 Dufour set (see Chapter 2), Psyche is

depicted bathing in diaphanous clothing rather than naked. Leighton's celebrated nude image is now in Tate Britain in London (https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/leighton-the-bath-of-psyche-n01574).

[24] On these and the long history of such voyeuristic images in Western art, cf. Laneyrie-Dagen and Vigarello (2015).

[25] This had already been the case in Shackerley Marmion's 1637 version (see n. 11 above), as in La Fontaine's 1669 version (see Chapter 2), a concession to the more courtly conventions of early modern and nineteenth-century love narratives.

[26] See Boos (2002: i. 418).

[27] This is again a feature in La Fontaine's version (though not in Marmion's).

[28] Perhaps looking to the Austro-Prussian war of June–July 1866.

[29] The word means 'waist' and is used in the fourteenth-century *Arthur and Merlin* and *Romaunt Rose*, and in Lydgate's fifteenth-century *Assembly of Gods* (*OED*, s.v.).

[30] For the Victorian obsession with luxuriant female hair in art and literature, see Opek (2009), especially pp. 74–83 on Morris and Rossetti. John Roddam Spencer Stanhope's Psyche (in his painting 'Cupid and Psyche' of 1878) too, has luxuriant hair and is the focus of the image much more than Cupid, in congruence with the Victorian focus on the female form (see the cover image).

[31] Contrast her rejection by Ceres and Juno (Apuleius *Met*. 6.2–4, extensively expanded by Morris at 1445–1560).

[32] For the wallpaper (made in Paris but available in the UK and Germany), see Reitz (2020) and Chapter 2 figure 1 above.

[33] Cf. also the words of the eagle to Psyche, which address her by echoing both the Annunciation and the speech of the good thief to Jesus on the cross: 'Cease all thy fear, | For to the black waves I thy ewer will bear, | And fill it for thee; but, remember me, | When thou art come unto thy majesty' (ll. 1977–80); cf. Luke 23:42 KJV: 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom.'

[34] For an overview of Webb's project, see Dakers (1999: 89–105).

[35] The twelve canvases (in their narrative order in Morris's version) are as follows: 1.Cupid Finding Psyche Asleep by a Fountain, 2. The King and other Mourners abandon Psyche to the Monster, 3. Zephyrus Bearing Psyche to the Mountain, 4. Psyche's Sisters Visit her at Cupid's House, 5. Psyche holding the Lamp Gazes on the Face of Sleeping Cupid and Psyche Abandoned, 6. Cupid Flying away from Psyche, 7. Psyche Gazes in Despair at Cupid Flying away into the Night, 8. Psyche at the Shrines of Juno and Ceres, 9. Psyche Set the Task by Venus, 10. Psyche Giving the Coin to the Ferryman of the Styx, 11. Psyche Receiving the Casket from Proserpine, 12. Psyche entering the Portals of Olympus. Some good images can be found in Cavicchioli (2002: 225–32); a full catalogue of images can be found at https://www.eb-j.org/browse-artwork-detail/Njk1. The topic of the commission may have resulted from the Howards seeing some of Burne-Jones's many early sketches of Psyche in his studio; Christian et al. (2007: 65–9) record over 100 pencil sketches by Burne-Jones based on the Psyche story from the period 1865–7 (plus 43 wood engravings and more than 20 works on paper in chalk, charcoal, and watercolour).

[36] For this cycle, see Chapter 1. The Howards visited Italy annually and had no doubt seen the Villa Farnesina—cf. Dakers (1999: 89–105) and MacCarthy (2011: 265–9) for them and the Palace Green project in general. For other possible influences (certainly including the illustrations of the celebrated romantic narrative *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna printed by Aldo Manuzio in 1499, a work itself influenced by Apuleius, see Chapter 1), see Cheney (2004: 34–40).

[37] The panels were re-erected in a mock-up of the original room in a 1998–9 exhibition in Birmingham and New York—see Dakers (1999: 285, n. 44). For their details see https://www.eb-

j.org/browse-artwork-detail/Njk1.

[38] On the associated pictures (and the links of Burne-Jones's depictions of Psyche to his model and lover Maria Zambaco, whom he painted as Psyche the first time they met, see MacCarthy (2011: 200–50, for their affair), Cheney (2004: 34–40), and https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/edward-burne-jones-psyche-and-the-earthly-paradise/.

[39] The Palace Green version of this particular image was partly executed by Walter Crane (for Crane's role, see MacCarthy 2011: 267–8). Burne-Jones's further versions are as follows: oil on canvas, 1872–81, Birmingham Museums and Art Galleries; watercolour, 1865–87, Manchester City Art Galleries; watercolour, 1866, British Museum; watercolour/gouache/paper, 1867, Yale Center for British Art.

[40] One in gouache (1867) is now on loan to Leighton House, Collection of London Borough of Hammersmith; the second (1867) in watercolour and bodycolour is in the collection of the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford; the third (1872), an oil on canvas, is in the collection of Sheffield Galleries and Museum Trust. For images of all, see https://www.bridgemanimages.com.

[41] Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum; the artist unnecessarily substitutes a nude Psyche for the wet garments of Morris, perhaps recalling the often-naked Psyche of the frescoes of the Palazzo Te in Mantua (see Cavicchioli 2002: 124–35). Another slightly smaller oil version from the 1870s in less vibrant colours from a private collection can be viewed alongaside the Harvard version at https://www.bridgemanimages.com.

[42] 120 × 215 cm, in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, for an image, see, e.g., https://www.wikiart.org/en/edward-burne-jones/the-wedding-of-psyche-1895.

[43] The tale of Cupid and Psyche seems to have been the first episode from *The Earthly Paradise* that Burne-Jones prepared to illustrate (see MacCarthy 2011: 181–2, 267), and the only one he persisted with, perhaps because of the link between Psyche and Maria Zambaco—see n. 39. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery holds a large number of works on paper (more than 150) by Burne-Jones associated with this illustration project, almost all of C&P and from the period 1865–8; see Christian et al. (2007: 65–9).

[44] Cf. Boos (2002: i. 32).

[45] For samples, see Maxwell (2002: 221–2).

[46] See MacCarthy (2011: 181–3).

[47] Morris (1974).

[48] See Carter (1984).

[49] Bridges claimed not to have read Morris, but this seems unlikely, and, like Morris, he uses Shackerley Marmion's 1637 poetic paraphrase *Legend of Cupid and Psyche* (see n. 11 above), as well as Hudson Gurney's 1799 poem *Cupid and Psyche* (for which see Chapter 4); for all this and a recent critical account of the poem that means we can be brief here, see Ruggeri (2020).

[50] For his career and output, see Philips (1992).

[51] Poems XII 'Psyche', XXXIII 'Eros and Psyche', XXXV 'De Natura Deorum', XXXVII 'Psyche's Discontent'. These stress the romantic aspects of the story: for a modern account of Patmore's collection, see Maynard (1992), and for Patmore's links with Bridges, see Ruggeri (2020). In the same year, the Welsh poet Lewis Morris included a loose adaptation of Psyche's story in his long poem *The Epic of Hades*, a Dante-style katabasis narrative in which the poet–narrator meets a wide variety of figures from classical mythology in an Underworld setting (one is Psyche, who tells her own story in some 300 Tennysonian lines).

[52] As Bridges himself noted (Bridges 1898: 290). For more details here, see again Ruggeri (2020).

[53] It is possible that this location reflects contemporary archaeological interest in Crete, especially the discovery of the celebrated inscription of the Gortyn law code in 1884 (see Halbherr et al. 1885); Gortyn, at one point the Roman capital of the island, is indeed a small town east of Mt Ida on the Pedeada (the modern name for the Omphalian Plain, mentioned by Callimachus, *Hymn* 1.45). Psyche had also been placed on Crete in J. L. Prasch's 1685 neo-Latin novel *Psyche Cretica* and in several German texts before Bridges (see Chapter 3), but a contemporary reference seems equally likely here.

[54] On the Christian virtues of Bridges's Psyche, see Stanford (1978: 62).

[55] Bridges (1898: 290).

[56] For a fuller treatment of this key aspect, see Ruggeri (2020).

[57] See Hughes and Stradling (2001).

[58] This is probably drawn from an account published by Bridges's friend Gerard Manley Hopkins in *Nature* in 1884—Hopkins himself noted the parallels: see Abbott (1935: 202–3), Stanford (1978: 66–7), and now Ruggeri (2020: 206).

[59] Woodward (1912). It was printed (for the publishers Herbert and Daniel) at the Chiswick Press, which had produced both editions of Bridges's *Eros and Psyche* (see above).

[60] For his life, see Barnes (1995).

[61] Found for example in the most-used translation of the later Victorian period, Rawlinson 1859.

[62] Cf. in the opening lines 'Gentles' (1.10, 'sovran' (1.5), 'bare him' (1.7).

[63] See http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s244.rap.html.

[64] For Petronius, see Harrison (2012).

[65] 'No man who is thoroughly aware of what Prose Fiction has now become—of its dignity, of its influence, of the manner in which it has gradually absorbed all similar departments of literature, of its power in teaching as well as amusing…' (Bulwer-Lytton (18320 v.

[66] 'On Novels and The Art of Writing of Them' (ch. XII). For the status of the Victorian novel, see conveniently Flint (2001).

[67] Schultze (2020).

[68] Conventionally classically educated by a private tutor and at Cambridge—see Brown (2004).

[69] For its publication history and cultural context, see St Clair and Bautz (2012).

[70] For more on this, see Harrison (2011a).

[71] See further Harrison (2004, 2011a).

[72] All translations in this section are from Walsh (1994).

[73] Here we could see Lytton as an early advocate of the satirical reading of the Isis-cult in Apuleius, for which see, e.g., Harrison (2013: 6–7, 109–24).

[74] See Mason (2010).

[75] See, e.g., Moreschini (1994: 26–48) and Gaisser (2008: 57–9).

[76] She had some Latin and had read at least some major classical texts in translation: cf. Barker (1994: 127).

[77] Imlay (1989: 3–6). Despite the title, Chase (1984) entirely focuses on the gendered psychology and character development of Jane Eyre. On Apuleius' influence on the Brontës and their subsequent inspiration of Sylvia Plath, see Ranger (2020: 365–6), to whose points I add here.

[78] See https://www.thebrontes.net/reading/appendices.

[79] e.g. *Blackwood's Magazine*, XX: 898 (1826, quoting one of her poems) or XXVII: 270, 632 (1830; the latter passage characterizes Tighe in four lines of poetry as Psyche carried on Zephyr's wings).

[80] Barker (1994: 4–6).

[81] Discussed by Imlay (1989: 110–11).

[82] Bluebeard is evoked explicitly in chapter 11, and is a source of the 'mad woman in the attic' plot, where Rochester keeps his first wife incarcerated. Cinderella (itself originating in C&P, see Chapter 1) may underlie Jane's rags to riches story. At Gateshead, Bessie Leaven tells nursery tales to the children (*JE*, ch. 4). Accardo (2002: 86) points to the similarities to Beauty and the Beast. See also *JE*, ch. 13, where Rochester claims Jane is a witch from a fairy tale.

[83] Charlotte's notorious addresses to her reader ('Reader, I married him!' (ch. 38)) have a similar effect to Apuleius' equally famous *lector, intende, laetaberis* (*Met*. 1.1, at the opposite end of the narrative).

[84] Rochester's name perhaps recalls Lord Byron's title as the sixth Baron Byron of Rochdale, as well as the similarly dissolute Restoration poet John Wilmot, second earl of Rochester.

[85] Gilbert & Gubar (1979: 359–62).

[86] So Davies (2006: 576).

[87] See May (2006: 221–2) on the legitimacy of the weddings.

[88] For an example involving Vergil, see (Harrison 2000b), for his reception of Horace see Harrison (2017: 125–31).

[89] Cf. *OED*, s.v. 1a :'A small earthen glazed pot, esp. one used by apothecaries for ointments and medicines.'

[90] As narrated in chs 2 and 18–20. Thackeray seems to be the inventor of the portmanteau name 'Oxbridge' (he also uses the less lasting 'Camford' in *Pendennis*).

[91] See, e.g., Taylor (1999: 32–66).

[92] See Cavicchioli (2002).

[93] See again Harrison (2000b).

[94] For a photograph see http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/64236/giorgio-sommer-psyche-museo-nationale-napoli-italian-about-1870%261890/. There is no real reason for identifying this nude as Psyche.

[95] Keats in 'Ode to Psyche', describing a similar scene, was unsure whether the kiss was about to happen or had already happened; see Chapter 4.

[96] See Fiske (2015).

[97] See Hall (2015), who also points out that Eliot uses Keats's 'Ode to Psyche' (e.g. the idea of the woodland encounter; see Chapter 3).

[98] If Eliot's words imply that Cupid makes the first move (as Donnithorne does), this is implied in the couple's marital kiss in Apuleius (*Met.* 6.24), but is a moment much more explicitly prominent in art—for example, in Canova's spectacular sculpture *Psyche Revived by Cupid's Kiss* (1787), which Eliot could have seen at the Louvre on her visit there in 1859 (acquired 1824 and still there), or in the

Roman statue of the embracing couple in the Capitoline Museums in Rome on her visit in 1860 (Musei Capitolini, inv. MC0408). Representations of the statue group were readily available in England, too; see Plate 4 as an example. For Eliot's life and travels, see, e.g., Uglow (1987).

[99] For the first, see Witemeyer (1979); for the second, Wiesenfarth (1977, 1982).

[100] For an image, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ludwig_Hofer,_Psyche.jpg.

[101] For an image, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thorvaldsen_Psyche_ANG_Berlin.jpg.

[102] Here we owe much to the stimulus of Brown (2015: 277–80), to which we add some material.

[103] The real Alice Liddell's father was Dean Henry Liddell, the grand head of Henry VIII's foundation of Christ Church, Oxford, parallel to Psyche's royal father.

[104] Cf. Brown (2015: 277).

[105] Cf. Brown (2015: 279).

[106] Here we rely on the list of Davidson Reid (1993: ii. 949–52). The only opera in English she records is a *Cupid and Psyche* of 1874, interestingly by a woman, Mary Righton, but little seems to be known of it—see Cohen (1987: i. 585).

[107] The dubious impresario Renton Nicholson also staged the story of Cupid and Psyche with semi-naked young women in provocative poses in the Coal Hole Tavern in London's Strand in 1854—see Hall and Stead (2020: 351).

[108] For the genre of Victorian classical burlesque, see Hall and Macintosh (2004: 350–90), Monròs-Gaspar (2015), Bryant Davies (2018), and, for Burnand's work, see Burnand (1864).

[109] Burnand was working with an established London stage tradition of parody of C&P: an anonymous 'comedietta' *Cupid and Psyche* was presented at the Princess's Theatre in 1848 and a 'burletta' *The Loves of Cupid and Psyche* at another London theatre in 1857 (see Davidson Reid 1993: ii. 950), not to mention Thomas Duffet's *Psyche Debauch'd* of 1675 (see Chapter 2).

[110] It was delivered early and was in fact given to Albert at Christmas 1844.

[111] https://www.rct.uk/collection/41062/cupid-and-psyche. A number of Gibson's drawings of episodes from C&P and at least one other sculpture can be found in the collection of the Royal Academy of Arts in London (see https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/john-gibson-ra); Gibson depicted the story many times over half a century (see https://www.oeaw.ac.at/acdh/tools/the-gibson-trail; for his life and career, see Greenwood (2008).

6

Cupid and Psyche, Decadence, and Fairy Tales, 1885–1905

1. Introduction

The presence of Apuleius, and of C&P in particular, is prominent in the European writers of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, who are usually called ‘Decadent’ or are linked with that label. A. J. Symons’s contemporary account (1893) of ‘The Decadent Movement in Literature’ brings out the key qualities of its texts: ‘an intense self-consciousness, a restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity’, and an emphasis on the kind of style deployed by Walter Pater (for whom see further below) ‘in which words have their color, their music, their perfume’.[1] The appeal of C&P to Decadent authors can be ascribed to at least three causes.[2] First, the evident allegorical potential of the story of Love and Soul was naturally appreciated by these writers who had close links with the neighbouring literary movement of Symbolism.[3] Second, Apuleius’ reputation as an elaborate stylist (on impressive display in C&P) suited the Decadent emphasis on unusual and sensuous language. Finally, the contemporary perception of Apuleius as a late and post-classical Latin author[4] fitted Decadent authors’ concept of themselves as belonging to a more liberated literary and cultural framework that comes at the end of an age (for them, the *fin de siècle*; for Apuleius, the aftermath of classical Latinity).[5]

This connection between post-classical Latin and modern literary Decadence had been explicitly made by Charles Baudelaire, in effect the

founding father of Decadence; in his note on his Latin poem (in medievalizing rhyming stanzas) 'Franciscae meae laudes' in *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857), he suggested that 'the language of the last Latin decadence…is singularly appropriate to express passion as understood and felt by the modern poetic world'.[6] A generation later, Symons's article made the same point about the Decadent literature of his time: 'it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the qualities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence.'[7] It is no accident, then, as we shall see, that a text centrally important for Decadence in English (Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*) not only features Apuleius as a fictional character but also includes an extensive retelling of C&P, and that some interest in Apuleius (and C&P) is found in French, Italian, and Dutch Decadent writers.[8] A few years later, in a liminal poem to an 1887 reprint of Adlington's 1566 version of C&P edited by his friend Andrew Lang (see further Section 4), J. W. Mackail, who a decade later was to characterize Apuleius' style as strange and barbarous,[9] would note that C&P did not come from 'the ages of gold' but arose

> in an age like ours,
> Dull, philanthropic, effete,
> From the dust of a race grown stupid
> And a language deep in decay.[10]

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was also a period where the literary fairy tale was especially popular,[11] a feature that can be linked with Decadence through the stories of Pater's pupil Oscar Wilde and other associated *fin de siècle* writers.[12] Interest in fairy tales could also be coupled with exploration of their classical analogues such as C&P, and attempts to fit them within the emerging framework of the scholarly study of folklore and comparative mythology and anthropology.[13] A key figure here is the man of letters, classicist and myth-scholar Andrew Lang, who both popularized fairy stories and folk tales through the much-read collections of tales authored by his wife Nora, which appeared under his name, and sought to study them from an anthropological perspective. As we shall see, Andrew Lang not only included his wife's version of C&P in the *Red Romance Book*, but also wrote an essay in which he argued that Apuleius' story incorporated a type of taboo-myth that found a place in the folklore of many different societies.

2. Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean* (1885)

The Oxford scholar and writer Walter Pater (1839–94),[14] the doyen of the Aesthetic movement, was a major inspiration for Decadent writers in English,[15] and his work engaged extensively with the classical world.[16] One of the most important of these Greek and Roman interactions is Pater's novel *Marius the Epicurean* (1885),[17] which presents an account of the philosophical and spiritual education of the young Roman aristocrat Marius as he moves from pagan religion through Greek philosophy to Christianity in the Rome of Marcus Aurelius. This trajectory from youthful education and traditional learning to apparent ultimate enlightenment has been plausibly compared to that of Lucius' movement towards apparent Isiac conversion in the *Metamorphoses*, and both novels have been presented as *Bildungsromane*, novels of education;[18] both indeed climax in a conversion of sorts, though in both cases the conversion is far from unambiguous.[19] This overall resemblance is naturally strengthened by the fact that both the *Metamorphoses* itself and its author feature in Pater's novel, set in the period of Apuleius' lifetime and including an extensive paraphrase of C&P.

Marius' boyhood reading of the just-published *Metamorphoses* towards the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius[20] and its consequences are narrated in chapters 4–6 of *Marius*. Apuleius' novel is crucial in stimulating Marius' literary and poetic sensibility, as its introduction stresses:

> …a book which awakened the poetic or romantic capacity as perhaps some other book might have done, but was peculiar in giving it a direction emphatically sensuous. (ch. 4, p. 39)

Marius' admiration for the book is based on three qualities. The first of these is its elaborate style:

> And the inside was something not less dainty and fine, full of the archaisms and curious felicities in which that generation delighted, quaint terms and images picked fresh from the early dramatists, the lifelike phrases of some lost poet preserved by an old grammarian, racy morsels of the vernacular and studied prettinesses… (ch. 5, pp. 40–1)

As has been suggested,[21] this description has much in common with Pater's own style, and his interest in Apuleian Latin, perceived at the time in Britain as decadent and colourful,[22] is of a piece with his own commitment to elaborate and precious modes of expression.

The second element of the *Metamorphoses* with which Marius is taken is its element of the bizarre, the macabre, and the coarse, which appeals to his boyish taste:

> But the marvellous, delight in which is one of the really serious elements in most boys, passed at times, those young readers still feeling its fascination, into what French writers call the *macabre* – that species of almost insane preoccupation with the materialities of our mouldering flesh, that luxury of disgust in gazing on corruption, which was connected, in this writer at least, with not a little obvious coarseness. (ch. 5, p. 44)

This is followed by a clear contemporary link:

> And the scene of the night-watching of a dead body [a reference to the tale of Thelyphron in book 2] lest the witches should come to tear off the flesh with their teeth, is worthy of Théophile Gautier. (p. 44)

Pater here invokes Gautier, the journalist, poet, critic, and novelist, who had died in 1872, as a parallel for Apuleius; Pater admires Gautier's macabre effects in some other contexts,[23] but the reference here seems to suggest that Apuleius is at least partly engaging in puerile sensationalism.

Fig. 10 Edmund Dulac (1882–1953), *Cupid and Psyche*. Frontispiece of Pater (1951). Image credit: Gurbir Singh.

Here the mention of Gautier also evokes the French origins of Decadence, in which he had played an important role in his critical writings on Baudelaire.[24]

These two elements of high style and low content are evident links with the key features of Decadence identified above. The third element that attracts Marius is the episode of Cupid and Psyche itself. Pater famously includes in his novel an elaborate retelling of the Cupid and Psyche story in more than twenty pages (ch. 5),[25] which in its simple yet poetic style looks forward to the fairy tales of Oscar Wilde. It is introduced as the allegorical jewel redeeming the darker and lower world of the rest of the *Metamorphoses*:

> But set as one of the episodes in the main narrative, a true gem amid its mockeries, its coarse though genuine humanity, its burlesque horrors, came the tale of Cupid and Psyche, full of brilliant, life-like situations, *speciosa locis*,[26] and abounding in lovely visible imagery (one seemed to see and handle the golden hair, the fresh flowers, the precious works of art in it!) yet full also of a gentle idealism, so that you might take it, if you chose, for an allegory. (ch. 5, p. 26)

This is the morally elevating element of the work for Marius once he has read it (ch. 6)—note how Marius uses the same aestheticizing comparison between the inserted tale and a jewel in its setting:

> Set in relief[27] amid the coarser matter of the book, this episode of Cupid and Psyche served to combine many lines of meditation, already familiar to Marius, into the ideal of a perfect imaginative love, centered upon a type of beauty entirely flawless and clean… (p. 68)

This allegorical interpretation is at least implicitly Platonic, and when Apuleius himself appears later as a character in the novel (ch. 20), it is as an advocate of Platonism.[28] But it also appeals to the age of Symbolism and Decadence.[29]

As Paul Turner has noted in his useful brief analysis of Pater's retelling of C&P,[30] the paraphrase that *Marius* presents us with is explicitly Marius' own interpretation of the tale:

> So the famous story composed itself in the memory of Marius, with an expression changed in some ways from the original and on the whole graver. The petulant, boyish Cupid of Apuleius was become more like that 'Lord, of terrible aspect,' who stood at Dante's bedside and wept, or had at least grown to the manly earnestness of the Erôs of Praxiteles. Set in relief amid the coarser matter of the book, this episode of Cupid and Psyche served to combine many lines of meditation, already familiar to Marius, into the ideal of a perfect imaginative love, centered upon a type of beauty entirely flawless and clean… (ch. 6, p. 68)

The comparison with Greek sculpture and emphasis on beauty strike notes typical of Pater's other work on classical and artistic topics,[31] and Marius'

reading is evidently an account of Pater's own reading of the story. The choice to focus on C&P rather than the more risqué material of much of the rest of the *Metamorphoses*, such as the colourful and racy narratives of adultery and murder in books 9 and 10, is indicative of the overall strategy of the paraphrase of the tale; as Turner indicates, the comic bitchiness of Psyche's sisters and of Venus is removed, along with any other traces of indignity and humour, especially in the characterization of the gods, as well as abbreviating the tale by removing many non-essential details.

A telling example is the famous scene when Cupid, having been woken up by the drop of oil from Psyche's lamp, immediately flies off, with Psyche trying to hold on (*Met.* 5.24, cited here in Latin, the Loeb translation, and Pater's version):

> *At Psyche, statim resurgentis eius crure dextero manibus ambabus arrepto, sublimis evectionis appendix miseranda et per nubilas plagas penduli comitatus extrema consequia, tandem fessa delabitur solo. Nec deus amator humi iacentem deserens, involavit proximam cupressum, deque eius alto cacumine sic eam graviter commotus affatur: 'Ego quidem, simplicissima Psyche, parentis meae Veneris praeceptorum immemor, quae te miseri extremique hominis devinctam cupidine infimo matrimonio addici iusserat, ipse potius amator advolavi tibi. Sed hoc feci leviter, scio, et praeclarus ille sagittarius ipse me telo meo percussi teque coniugem meam feci, ut bestia scilicet tibi viderer et ferro caput excideres meum, quod istos amatores tuos oculos gerit. Haec tibi identidem semper cavenda censebam, haec benivole remonebam. Sed illae quidem consiliatrices egregiae tuae tam perniciosi magisterii dabunt actutum mihi poenas; te vero tantum fuga mea punivero.' Et cum termino sermonis pinnis in altum se proripuit.* (*Met.* 5.24)
>
> But as he rose Psyche quickly grasped his right leg with both hands, forming a pitiable appendage to his soaring flight and a trailing attachment in dangling companionship through the cloudy regions. At last, exhausted, she fell to the ground. Her divine lover did not desert her as she lay on the ground, but flew to a cypress nearby, from whose high summit he spoke to her in deep distress. 'My poor naive Psyche!' he said. 'I in fact disobeyed the orders of my mother Venus, who had commanded me to chain you with passion for some wretched and worthless man and sentence you to the lowest sort of marriage. Instead I flew to you myself as your lover. But that was a frivolous thing to do, I know. Illustrious archer that I am, I shot myself with my own weapon and made you my wife, for the pleasure, it seems, of having you think me a wild beast and cut off my head with a sword, the head that holds these eyes which are your lovers! I told you time and time again that you must always be on your guard against this, and I kept warning you about it for your own good. As for those excellent advisers of yours, I shall soon be revenged on them for their disastrous instructions. But I shall punish you merely by leaving.' (Loeb)
>
> And Psyche, as he rose upon the wing, laid hold on him with her two hands, hanging upon him in his passage through the air, till she sinks to the earth through weariness. And as she lay there, the divine lover, tarrying still, lighted upon a cypress tree which grew near, and, from the top of it, spake thus to her, in great emotion. 'Foolish one! unmindful of the command of Venus, my mother, who had devoted thee to one of base degree, I fled to thee in his stead. Now know I that this was vainly done. Into mine own flesh pierced mine arrow, and I made thee my wife, only that I might seem a monster beside thee—that thou shouldst seek to wound

> the head wherein lay the eyes so full of love to thee! Again and again, I thought to put thee on thy guard concerning these things, and warned thee in loving-kindness. Now I would but punish thee by my flight hence'. And therewith he winged his way into the deep sky.

In the tragi-comic scene we can see several of Pater's characteristic strategies of adaptation. The humorous body-part particularity of *eius crure dextero manibus ambabus arrepto*, 'grasped his right leg with both hands', is softened in 'laid hold on him with her two hands', while the incongruously lofty double nominal phrase for Psyche's undignified dragging, *sublimis evectionis appendix miseranda et per nubilas plagas penduli comitatus extrema consequia*, 'a pitiable appendage to his soaring flight and a trailing attachment in dangling companionship through the cloudy regions', is compressed and simplified into 'hanging upon him in his passage through the air', and Psyche's unseemly falling to the ground becomes a more ladylike 'sinks to the earth through weariness', just as she is said to have sought to wound his head rather than trying to cut it off. The overall general dignity of Pater's language is indeed notable; much of this is achieved by an elevated archaism, mirroring in context the archaism that Marius had detected in Apuleius' Latin (see above): the old-fashioned 'thee', like 'thou' and 'thy', is found only in the novel's paraphrases of classical texts, 'upon the wing' recalls the 'upon the wings' of the 1611 King James Bible (Psalms 18:10), and 'spake' is also biblical (644 times in the same version), while 'mine own flesh' is Shakespearean (*Merchant of Venice*, 2.2).

This is a version of C&P that excludes almost all its characteristically Apuleian elements of vulgarity, humour, and comically exaggerated style, tailoring it for the worthy didactic content of his novel, which he no doubt saw as a kind of guide for the young men he had taught for more than twenty years at Oxford.[32] Though, as we have seen, the novel *Marius* recognizes the coarser element in the rest of the *Metamorphoses*, the character Marius' fondness for this aspect is implicitly despised as boyish low taste, and the earthy and sensationalist aspects of the Roman novel are severely downplayed to produce a high-minded, high-styled version of C&P, which is in any case the most linguistically elevated section of the *Metamorphoses*.[33] There is little sign of the medievalizing of Morris and Bridges (see Chapter 5); Pater's C&P has a timeless dignity that pursues Pater's interest in aesthetic beauty, and, like the rest of the novel, shows a

precious and cultivated style that sets much of the agenda for the elaborate language of Decadence.

In some ways, *Marius the Epicurean* looks back to the most popular nineteenth-century novel with an ancient Roman setting, Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834, treated briefly in Chapter 5). Both works emphasize the existence of Roman texts of prose fiction that can be classified as novels, and are deliberately set at the periods where those texts were written. *The Last Days of Pompeii* is set in 79 CE, in the same Hellenizing Campanian milieu as Petronius' *Satyrica*, probably written no more than twenty years before that date, and has several scenes that recall that work,[34] while *Marius the Epicurean*, as we have seen, not only paraphrases the most famous episode of Apuleius' novel but also introduces its author as a fictional character. Both are also in some sense didactic novels, which consciously present a wide range of information about the ancient world to their readers.[35] In both cases, the use of material from ancient novels in nineteenth-century novels shows that this hegemonic genre of the Victorian era, which was of apparently recent and vernacular origin, could in fact claim the classical cultural authority of Greco-Roman antiquity, and allusions to C&P appear several times in such contexts.[36]

3. Continental Links: Huysmans, D'Annunzio, Couperus

Just as Pater was writing *Marius*,[37] Joris-Karl Huysmans[38] published *Á Rebours* (*Against Nature* (1884)), often seen as the signature text of French Decadence.[39] The novel's content is conveniently summarized by Oscar Wilde's famous description of it in chapter 10 of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), where it is thinly disguised by the label 'The Yellow Book' and becomes Dorian's corrupting obsession:

> It was a novel without a plot and with only one character, being, indeed, simply a psychological study of a certain young Parisian who spent his life trying to realize in the nineteenth century all the passions and modes of thought that belonged to every century except his own, and to sum up, as it were, in himself the various moods through which the world-spirit had ever passed, loving for their mere artificiality those renunciations that men have unwisely called virtue, as much as those natural rebellions that wise men still call sin. The style in which it was written was that curious jewelled style, vivid and obscure at once, full of argot and of archaisms, of technical expressions and of elaborate paraphrases, that characterizes the work of some of the finest artists of the French school of Symbolistes. There

> were in it metaphors as monstrous as orchids and as subtle in colour. The life of the senses was described in the terms of mystical philosophy. One hardly knew at times whether one was reading the spiritual ecstasies of some mediaeval saint or the morbid confessions of a modern sinner. It was a poisonous book. The heavy odour of incense seemed to cling about its pages and to trouble the brain. The mere cadence of the sentences, the subtle monotony of their music, so full as it was of complex refrains and movements elaborately repeated, produced in the mind of the lad, as he passed from chapter to chapter, a form of reverie, a malady of dreaming, that made him unconscious of the falling day and creeping shadows.[40]

In Huysmans's novel itself, we find a description of the library of his reclusive and precious intellectual protagonist, Des Esseintes; as for Baudelaire, the key Latin authors for Des Esseintes are those of late, post-classical Latin, called the *décadence* in French academic circles.[41] Des Esseintes's favourite author is (predictably) the overtly decadent Petronius, but second to him comes Apuleius, of whom the rich young connoisseur (typically) possesses the 1469 *editio princeps*:

> Cet Africain le réjouissait; la langue latine battait le plein dans ses Métamorphoses; elle roulait des limons, des eaux variées, accourues de toutes les provinces, et toutes se mêlaient, se confondaient en une teinte bizarre, exotique, presque neuve; des maniérismes, des détails nouveaux de la société latine trouvaient à se mouler en des néologismes créés pour les besoins de la conversation, dans un coin romain de l'Afrique; puis sa jovialité d'homme évidemment gras, son exubérance méridionale amusaient. (ch. 3)[42]

The characterization of Apuleius' style here as bizarre and exotic, key aspects of Decadence, is clearly close to Wilde's characterization of the language of Huysmans himself.

This scene clearly influenced another central novel of European Decadence, *Il piacere* (*Pleasure*, 1890, sometimes translated as *The Child of Pleasure*) by Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938).[43] There we find its effete young protagonist, Andrea Sperelli, a Roman aristocratic dandy, at lunch with the Prince and Princess of Ferentino in Rome, where an English nobleman bores him with minute details of a recently purchased copy of the same first edition of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius;[44] the echo of Huysmans is unmistakable.[45] But this is not the only echo of Apuleius in D'Annunzio's novel: when Andrea looks back to his first meeting with his later mistress Elena Muti, he compares his counterproductive curiosity about her to that of Psyche about Cupid:

> The sad habit of analysis urged him on always, prevented him always from forgetting himself: but every attempt was punished, like the curiosity of Psyche, by the withdrawal of love, by the

dimming of the yearned-for object, by the cessation of pleasure. (p. 47)[46]

A few years later (1893), D'Annunzio included in his major poetic collection, *Poema paradisiaco*, a substantial poem entitled 'Psiche giacente (da Burne-Jones)', which as its title suggested was a description of a Burne-Jones watercolour of Psyche reclining, illustrating an episode from William Morris's version of C&P a generation before in *The Earthly Paradise* (see Chapter 5); thus we can see that C&P leaves significant traces in a key figure of Italian Decadentism.[47]

Another leading European Decadent was Louis Couperus (1863–1923), sometimes called the 'Dutch Oscar Wilde' and a major figure in the literature of the Netherlands.[48] Among many prose works, Couperus wrote two novels linked with Apuleius, a late comic adaptation of the main plot of the *Metamorphoses De verliefde ezel* (*The Ass in Love* (1918)),[49] and the earlier *Psyche* (1898), a fascinating version of C&P.[50] *Psyche* is perhaps best approached in this context by an annotated summary of its chapters, which are uneven in length, some very brief, underlining particular details related to the Apuleian original:[51]

Chapter 1

The young Psyche, 'the third princess, the youngest daughter of the old king, monarch of *The Kingdom of the Past*', is isolated in her royal father's great castle; she wears only a thin veil but is otherwise naked. She longs to use her weak wings to fly away, but they have no strength. There is a rich description of her surroundings and mental state.

Chapter 2

Psyche's strong wish to escape is described with some intensity.

Chapter 3

Her eldest sister is the beautiful Emeralda, proud heir to the kingdom, with eyes of jewels. She rejects all her suitors. Her fine clothes and jewels are described. Psyche is afraid of her. Her second sister is the learned Astra, an unworldly astronomer with a star on her head. Psyche visits her sometimes, nervously.

Chapter 4

Psyche visits her royal father before bed (as usual). She asks him why she cannot fly. He cannot say, but asks her to stay with him always and not to venture into the wicked world. She promises to do so.

Chapter 5

The lonely Psyche plays with birds and animals (including butterflies); she has no playmates but an old nurse, and is too young for ladies in waiting. The wind brings her a winged horse, the Chimera, who comes 'from far away'. He asks her what she wants: 'I should like to know much. I should like to know more. I should like to seek far through the universe. I long for what is most beautiful.' She asks him for flight, which he promises 'later'. As he flies away, she hangs on to him but lets go when he warns her of the danger, falls a little way and bruises one of her wings. She plans to throw herself into the waterfall near the castle if he does not return.

Chapter 6

The king holds a royal audience with all three princesses present. Prince Eros, 'the youthful monarch of the Present', arrives; 'he was as beautiful as a god'. He addresses the king as a humble vassal (his kingdom is small and poor) and expresses a wish to marry one of the princesses; the king acknowledges that 'you are descended from the god Eros; we from his beloved Psyche'. Emeralda agrees to be his wife if he can find the Jewel of Mystery, which confers supreme power, Astra if he can strengthen her telescope by finding a mighty glass lens. Eros asks Psyche too for a similar condition for marriage; she is tempted to ask for the Chimera and flight but she hesitates and the king says she is too young and that she will stay with him.

Chapter 7

The Chimera returns; Psyche asks to go with him. She mounts and starts but is not strong enough to bear the flight the first or second time; she manages it the third time but asks to go back for the sake of her father. Back at the castle she thinks of nothing else.

Chapter 8

Psyche goes with the Chimera again, who takes her away to the country where he is king. The supposedly fine sights of the flight vanish into nothing. She gets him to take her back home.

Chapter 9

The old king is dead and his funeral takes place. She confesses her trip with and love for the Chimera to her father's corpse and thinks of escaping for fear of Emeralda. She asks a sacred spider where to go, but he advises against flight and to become a spider. Again she thinks of throwing herself into the waterfall. She calls on the Chimera as the wind rises.

Chapter 10

The Chimera returns and they fly away together. She tires: 'Can you not rest with me in a beautiful valley, amongst flowers, near a brook?' He says he cannot stop his relentless flying to and fro, but descends to the purple desert and an oasis and leaves her there to her great distress. She encounters the stone Sphinx and asks her help, in vain; she asks the stars for their protection as she falls asleep.

Chapter 11

Sunrise at chapter-opening.[52] Psyche awakes in the desert. Prince Eros arrives—he has tracked her on her wanderings. He feels grief at her love for the Chimera but asks for her hand. 'Far behind me lies the Past…Then I was a child. Now I am a woman…Now I am no longer a princess, but a woman, a queen…of the Present.' She goes with him in his golden chariot with four griffons.

Chapter 12

Psyche awakes in Eros's luxurious palace surrounded by meadows and flowers. Two girls play pipes. Eros enters; she expresses her love for him; they speak as husband and wife. He gives her pearls to match her tears and a veil for her nakedness. They enjoy the beauty of nature in the Present.

Chapter 13

Idyllic life in Eros' kingdom—'the sweet delight of the Present'. Psyche sleeps outside. An ominous dark head with black eyes appears in the heavens. Eros takes her back to the palace. A storm.

Chapter 14

The head appears again the next day. 'It was a face tanned by the sun, with coal-black hair; round the temples a wreath of vine leaves, and from the wreath protruded two horns like those of a young goat'; it has a 'curly

beard', 'pointed ears', and plays a reed pipe. She runs away. The appearance and playing are repeated. Eventually he reveals that he is the Satyr and dances for her. He admires her, she is vexed but intrigued. Eros comes for her again and warns her against wild beasts in the wood.

Chapter 15

Psyche does not tell Eros about the Satyr, and still longs for the Chimera. The Satyr seeks her out again and compliments her, showing her the Bacchantes. Eros calls her back. She laments to him and is ill. But the next night she hears the piping and steals from bed to dance with the Satyr and the Bacchantes; she tastes grapes and the Satyr kisses her, but Eros then calls her back again. The next night she wakes up again and says farewell to the sleeping Eros as unworthy of her, and rejoins her new playmates. She asks the stars and the brook to ask Eros to forgive her, but they refuse; she picks a violet, which asks her to stay and makes the same request.

Chapter 16

Eros discovers Psyche's departure and searches for her—the violet passes on her message. He returns home to his bedroom and feels near death. He prays that she be forgiven and find what she seeks, even in the Future. He dies. The sacred spiders of Emeralda and the Past invade his domain and weave a web over the Present, which crumbles into dust.

Chapter 17

Meanwhile 'Autumn was keeping festival' in the woods. Naked nymphs bathe, and the Bacchantes and Satyrs dance with Prince Bacchus enthroned on his triumphal chariot and Psyche next to him, both naked, Psyche displaying her fine wings.

Chapter 18

Psyche tires of revelling and leaves the Bacchic celebrations, promising to return. She cools herself in the stream and encounters the water-nymphs. They cannot extinguish her burning remorse.

Chapter 19

Psyche wanders in the forest and calls on Eros to forgive her, but sees that the Present is destroyed by Emeralda's spiders and feels responsible for Eros' death. She meets the Satyr, who says that her wings are the reason for

her unhappiness and offers to cut them off for her. She agrees, it is done, and she returns to the wood.

Chapter 20

More than a year passes. It is now spring. A holy hermit in a cave receives a visit from ‘a naked girl with no covering but her hair’ (Psyche).[53] A dream of her dead father and husband has told her to do penance among men, but she has no clothes and asks for some. He gives her a cloak. She goes to visit Emeralda as she weeps jewels for her.

Chapter 21

Psyche returns to the castle and painfully climbs up the hill.

Chapter 22

She is let in because of her penitential garb. She offers jewels in return for her hospitality, and sends a message to Emeralda, who sits among guards and has become ‘like a great jewel’—all her body parts (not just her eyes) are now jewels, described in loving detail. She asks if the pilgrim brings her jewels. The pilgrim says yes, but asks to see her alone and then reveals her identity with nakedness. She offers her jewelled tears and asks for penance: ‘Lay a heavy task upon my wingless shoulders.’ Emeralda shows she knows of Psyche’s sins (how?) and orders her cruelly to ‘wander, seek, and ask, until you find’ including a descent to the Underworld to find ‘the Mystic Jewel, the Philosopher’s Stone’; if she brings the latter, she can share Emeralda’s rule. She goes to Astra too, who has blinded herself from too much astronomy, and her star has faded, just as Psyche’s wings are missing (she notes). Astra says the Jewel/Stone does not exist and is ‘pride and vanity’. Psyche falls asleep with Astra as her nurse.

Chapter 23

Psyche awakes in the night and visits her father’s coffin. She encounters again the spider of chapter 9, who again invites her to become a spider. She refuses despite her sin—it is vanity not real life. The spider points to her sins and her current great task. She wanders on the battlements as in the early chapters. The Chimera appears but can carry her no more because of her sin; he tells her she must obey Emeralda and descend to the Underworld—she will see him again. She goes down into the lowest depths of the castle through bats and other creatures, finds infernal seas and their monsters,

whom she asks where to find the Jewel. They reply ‘vanity, vanity’, as do other creatures to the same enquiry as she goes on. She is washed along by the sea, falls asleep in it, and wakes to step on to the land—the Kingdom of the Past. She resolves to return to Emeralda to tell her ‘that her Jewel was vanity. That the gem did not exist.’

Chapter 24

Back in the city Psyche finds a festival going on, the triumphal procession of Emeralda. Naked, she veils herself in her hair and buys a veil with her new pearl tear. The crowd are all terrified.

Chapter 25

Emeralda drives out of the castle with her grand chariot; her jewelled body is closely described. She sees Psyche, asks for the Jewel, and is answered with the news that the Jewel is vanity and non-existent. In her rage she drives her chariot at Psyche and tramples her to death. But Psyche returns to life and feels new wings growing as she hovers in the air looking down at her body.

Chapter 26

Emeralda drives through her kingdom, destroying it. She reaches the Sphinx (cf. chapter 10) and asks where the Jewel is hidden. She drives her chariot at the sphinx and breaks her heart of ruby.

Chapter 27

Psyche, resurrected, white and naked, flies through the air. She hears the call of the Chimera and mounts on him again. They rise high up to the Kingdom of the Future, where she sees her father and husband and is joyfully reunited with them. Astra sees them miraculously from below, her star goes out, and she dies.

Couperus’ version has many differences from the Apuleian original; some are new directions, but a number are clever inversions, combinations, or variations of elements in C&P. As in Apuleius, Psyche is the youngest of three royal sisters, but it is made clear that she is not yet ready for marriage, unlike the evidently nubile Psyche of C&P. She is characteristically depicted as being naked and with wings; these elements are not in Apuleius, but come from art, where from Roman times Psyche is depicted with

wings[54] and is shown naked from the Renaissance,[55] not least in neoclassical sculpture such as that of Canova and Thorwaldsen and the paintings of Burne-Jones and Leighton in Couperus' own lifetime.[56] The emphasis on the quasi-neurotic inner life of Psyche, her strong aesthetic sense, and the lavish descriptions of jewels and other fine or macabre objects and beings belong to the 1890s, though her repeated wishes for suicide also belong to the original. Only one of her sisters (the megalomaniac, jewel-obsessed Emeralda) is villainous rather than the pair of the original; the sad and failed intellectual Astra strikes a more modern note. As often,[57] this reception feels the need to name both sisters, anonymous in the original, and to characterize them more fully.

Clever doublings, divisions, and redirections occur. Apuleius' character of Cupid is divided in Couperus between the winged Chimera (when Psyche falls to earth from his back, repeating her fall from holding on to Cupid in C&P) and (of course) Prince Eros; the Chimera, in turn, is also a version of the winged Zephyr who similarly carries Psyche to her paradisical domain, while on his first appearance to woo the sisters Prince Eros repeats the role of Paris in the Judgement of Paris (the power-mad Emeralda recalls Hera, the intellectual Astra Athene), recalling the extended Apuleian pantomimic presentation of that mythological story in the *Metamorphoses* after C&P (10-30-32). When in this scene the two older princesses given him tasks to fulfil, this recalls the labours imposed on Psyche by Venus in Apuleius, which are also recalled in Emeralda's later command to Psyche (see below); when the old king says to Prince Eros that he (Eros) is descended from another Eros, while the king and his family are descended from Psyche, this is surely a general metaliterary reference, pointing to the origin of Couperus' tale in C&P.

Couperus' Psyche has two sets of wanderings where Apuleius' has one, one before her abandonment of Eros, one afterwards; in the first set, she seeks to go to a pleasant landscape like Cupid's domain, but ends up in the desert, a neat inversion; when in the desert she asks the mighty Sphinx and the divine stars in vain for help, that is a rerun of her vain requests to Juno and Ceres in the original. When she does get to Eros' beautiful palace and park, they closely resemble those of Cupid, except that the music is provided by real players, not automata. Psyche is tempted from her paradisiacal life with Eros not by envious and deceitful sisters but by the attractively hedonistic Satyr, who plays and dances, who not only looks like

the Pan who helps Apuleius' Psyche (neatly inverted in this tempter),[58] but also recalls the Satyr who dances at the marriage of Cupid and Psyche (*Met.* 6.24), a union Couperus' Satyr seeks successfully to subvert. And while, as in the original, Couperus' Eros repeatedly warns Psyche against the behaviour that endangers their marriage, it is he and not Psyche who is abandoned and then looks for a lost partner, a neat inversion, while his physical suffering, shared by the two versions, climaxes dramatically in Couperus with the shock of his death.

In the final plot sequence, when Psyche returns to her family's castle (chs 20–5), her fearsome sister Emeralda takes on the role of Venus in Apuleius as Psyche's powerful female persecutor who imposes labours upon her as a penance, including a descent to the Underworld; in particular, Emeralda's selfish and materialistic desire for the Mystic Stone (the emerald that gives her her name) matches Venus' frivolous quest for a part of Proserpina's beauty (the quality that Venus herself represents). Where Venus gets her servants to beat Psyche in Apuleius, in Couperus Emeralda drives at Psyche in her chariot and kills her; this both reflects the quasi-death suffered by Apuleius' Psyche when she opens Venus' box, and matches the death of Eros earlier, just as Psyche's 'resurrection' in Apuleius by Cupid turns in Couperus into actual resurrection; in the post-Christian modern environment, resurrection (like sin and penance, also features of this version) is a natural narrative element. Emeralda's own self-inflicted death by maniacally crashing her chariot picks up the self-inflicted deaths of Psyche's two wicked sisters, leaping into the air and falling to their doom in the mistaken belief that Zephyr would catch and carry them. The final reunion of the lovers in the divine dimension of Olympus is matched in Couperus by their similar rejoining in the quasi-celestial Kingdom of the Future, with the addition of Psyche's beloved father.

The verbal style of Couperus' work fully reflects the high and precious Decadent aesthetic; here is his description of the wicked princess Emeralda, when she emerges towards the end of the novel having become a congeries of jewel-stones because of her greed (Chapter 25):[59]

> *Van het slot af over den zegeweg raderde pijlsnel een zegekar aan. Hoog opgericht en levend juweel, stond Emeralda en mende de vier-en-twintig rossen. En het was haàr glans en haàr aureool, die uitwaaierden door het luchtruim. Het waren haar stralen, die de huizen verteerden van glans en de menschen met schichten doorpriemden. Zij stond onwrikbaar, gepantserd in edelsteenkracht, in kuras van saffier, in gewaad van brilliant, breed omzoomd met gemmen en blanke cameeën; haar mantel was als een plooiende klok van*

purperkarbonkel, gevoerd met een hermelijn van email, gitzwart gevlokte glanzende wit. Uit haar kroon van beryl, uit haar Hart van Robijn zonnestraalde, schoot-uit haar aureool van verschrikking en overstraalde de stad, en overstraalde de lucht en overstraalde de zon, die verbleekte. Recht blikten-uit onverbiddelijk haar oogen, smaragd, star in haar gelaat van opaal, chalcedoon, en haar boezem van edelsteen hijgde niet. Alleen haar Hart van Robijn flonkerde met regelmatigen hartslag, en dan was haar glans even doffer, en weêr hel, even doffer en weêr hel…

From the castle, over the triumphal way, a triumphal chariot rattled along with the speed of an arrow. On the top, a living jewel, stood Emeralda, and guided the four and twenty steeds. It was her splendour and her aureola which appeared in the air. It was her rays which caused the houses to shine with splendour and pierced the people with flashes. She stood immovable, clad in the strength of precious stones, in a tunic of sapphire, in a robe of brilliants, with deep flounces of gems and white cameos; her mantle was like a bell, with folds of purple carbuncle, lined with enamelled ermine. From her crown of beryl, from her heart of ruby, the rays shot forth, shone out her fear-inspiring aureola and streamed over the town and in the air, eclipsing the sun, which turned pale. Her eyes of emerald, stars in her opal face, chalcedonic, looked inexorable, and her bosom of precious stones heaved not. Only her heart of ruby beat regularly, and then her lustre grew alternately dim and bright…

In sum, Couperus' version is a free retelling of Apuleius' tale that adds many fantastic elements to the classical story as well as cleverly reworking it; in this sense (as in its application of evidently Christian elements), it looks forward to C. S. Lewis's *Till We Have Faces*, another novelistic reworking of C&P by a distinguished literary figure.[60] Its strategies of imitation and variation (like its high stylistic colours) are sophisticated and intricate, and show knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* outside C&P itself. Here we see a prime representative of European Decadence who engages in detailed and creative literary interaction with a text that appealed strongly to his own aesthetic taste and that of his like-minded contemporaries.

4. Fairy Tales, Folktale Analysis, and Retelling for Children: Andrew and Nora Lang

In this same period, the classical scholar, man of letters, and folk-tale analyst Andrew Lang (1844–1912) brought together in the receptions of C&P published under his name a late nineteenth-century interest in literary fairy tales, and the nascent discipline of comparative anthropology.[61] Lang is best known to classicists for his work on Homer, especially his co-authored prose translations of the two Homeric epics in the style of the King James Bible.[62] In his even more extensive work on anthropology,

myth, and folk tale (he was a co-founder of the Folklore Society in 1878), Lang was keen to argue that folk tales could preserve ancient narrative patterns that were shared with but not derived from the plots of literary epics and other written texts, and to engage in the comparative study of mythology and in the anthropology of religion, fields where he was a major figure in contemporary debates.[63] He was especially insistent that the search for a single source for traditional and mythical tales in Indo-European culture (such as ancient solar myths) was often misplaced, and that such narratives usually reflected commonly occurring elements of the human condition in a range of ancient societies. This approach was specifically applied to C&P in a chapter of Lang's work *Custom and Myth* (1884).[64] 'Cupid, Psyche, and the "Sun-Frog"' argued that the C&P story embodies an ancient tale pattern that can be found both in the Indo-European tradition and in African and North American forms, concerned with primitive ideas of marriage-taboo and the interaction of gods and mortals:

> In one shape or other the tale of Cupid and Psyche, of the woman who is forbidden to see or to name her husband, of the man with the vanished fairy bride, is known in most lands, 'even among barbarians'. According to the story the mystic prohibition is always broken: the hidden face is beheld; light is brought into the darkness; the forbidden name is uttered; the bride is touched with the tabooed metal, iron, and the union is ended. Sometimes the pair are re-united, after long searchings and wanderings; sometimes they are severed for ever. Such are the central situations in tales like that of Cupid and Psyche.[65]

The cultural range of stories evoked in the essay is impressive, though their proximity to C&P varies: the 'Sun-Frog' of the title refers to the Sanskrit story of the Bheki, summarized by Lang as follows:

> Bheki, the frog, was a beautiful girl, and that one day, when sitting near a well, she was discovered by a king, who asked her to be his wife. She consented, on condition that he should never show her a drop of water. One day, being tired, she asked the king for water; the king forgot his promise, brought water, and Bheki disappeared.[66]

A few years afterwards, Lang returned to C&P in a lengthy introduction to a separate reprint of Adlington's Elizabethan translation of the tale.[67] Here he reiterates his views:

> The general conclusions which we shall try to establish are: first, that the essential features of the tale are not peculiar to Aryan peoples only, but that they are found in stories from all quarters; secondly, we shall try to show that these essential features might occur to the human

> fancy anywhere—granted certain rules and forms of society. It will thus not be absolutely necessary to suppose that the tale was invented once for all, and spread from onesingle original centre, though this may have been the case.[68]

Just as in *Custom and Myth* he had stressed that the tale of C&P was not derived from a single Indo-European source, so here Lang underlines that 'there is no good evidence that India was its birthplace',[69] and argues for the widespread diffusion of the story outside regions of Indo-European culture. He also divides the plot of the tale into seven distinct elements, which he sees as derived either from universal human ideas (such as intra-familial disputes) or from the context of primitive human societies (such as imposing deadly tasks on an enemy or ideas about the relationship between gods and men). This type of comparative and typological analysis of C&P has been influential in subsequent scholarship, using the categories of folk-tale motifs and tale types later developed and diffused by Propp and Thompson.[70]

Some twenty years later, after his Oxford friend Walter Pater's version of Apuleius' story examined above,[71] Lang included in one of the many popular volumes of traditional tales from myth and literature that came out under his name a retelling of C&P by his wife Leonora Blanche 'Nora' Lang (née Alleyne) (1851–1933). Nora Lang was in fact the author (unacknowledged on the title page and largely elsewhere) of most of the stories in these books of romances and fairy tales, each of which had its own colour, reflected in the elegant designs (there were twelve of fairy tales, beginning with the *Blue Fairy Book* of 1889); 'Cupid and Psyche' is to be found in the *Red Romance Book* of 1905, where it is the only classical story, reflecting its generally romantic treatment in the Victorian versions of Morris and others (see Chapter 5).[72] Nora was Andrew's peer in learning, style, and translation from Latin, another interesting example of a woman choosing to tell the story of Psyche.[73] Where Pater's version only mildly shortens the original (by 10 per cent or so), Nora Lang's abbreviates it by half. Its style is elegant and contemporary, eschewing Pater's archaism and elaborations; it also takes a number of liberties with the original, perhaps assuming that its putative juvenile and feminine readership did not have direct access to the Latin original (the preface, by Andrew Lang, is addressed 'to Children and others', and Nora Lang is likely to have imagined a female readership for these 'romances', at least in terms of

parental reading aloud). For example, the story begins as follows in her retelling:

> Once upon a time there lived a king who had three daughters. The two elder girls were very fair, and many were their suitors, but the youngest was so beautiful that it was whispered in the city that the goddess Aphrodite was not her equal in loveliness, and as she walked through the streets men touched their foreheads, and bowed low to the ground, as if Aphrodite herself had passed by.
>
> Now it was not long since the shepherd Paris had given the goddess the golden apple, in token that neither on the earth nor even on Olympus was a woman to be found as fair as she. And when she heard of the honours paid to Psyche, she rose up in her wrath and sent a winged messenger for Cupid, her son.
>
> 'Come with me,' she said, when Cupid appeared before her, 'I have somewhat to show you'; and without further speech the two flew through the air together, till they reached the palace where Psyche was sleeping.
>
> 'That is the maiden to whom men pay the homage due to me alone,' she whispered, while her grey eyes darted gleams like fire. 'I have brought you hither that you may avenge me by pricking her with an arrow that will fill her heart with love for one of the basest of mortals. And now I must depart in haste, for Oceanos awaits me.'

Here Nora Lang adds further classical colour to her abbreviated version of C&P:[74] the reference to the myth of the Judgement of Paris picks up Apuleius' use of it in describing Psyche (*Met.* 4.30), but is likely also to derive from *Aeneid* 1, where it is similarly represented as connected with a goddess's displeasure (in that case the resentment of Juno as one of the two losing competitors (*Aen.* 1. 26–7).

Nora Lang's version of the ending is also notably modified:

> If Cupid had only known his mother's wicked schemes, he would have contrived to stop them and to deliver Psyche. But the wound on his shoulder where the burning oil had fallen took long to heal, and for some time he was in ignorance of all that Psyche was suffering. At last, however, the pain ceased, and his first thought was to visit Psyche, who, nearly fainting with joy at the sound of his voice, poured forth all that had happened since that dreadful night which had destroyed her happiness.
>
> 'Your punishment has been sore,' said he, 'and I have no power to save you from the task my mother has set you. But while you fulfil this I will fly to Olympus, and beseech the gods to grant you forgiveness, and, more, a place among the immortals.'
>
> And so the envy and malice of Aphrodite and the wicked sisters were brought to nought, and Psyche left the earth, to sit enthroned on Olympus.

Here she edits out Psyche's journey to the Underworld, collection of the beauty of Proserpine and near-fatal repetition of her curiosity in opening the box, as well as Cupid's effective blackmail of Jupiter to bring about Psyche's apotheosis, just as earlier she had excluded the initial oracle about the monster; these elements are too pagan and satirical for a children's

story.[75] In addition to the modifications of content, the style is elegant, and (unlike that of Pater, consistently old-fashioned and elevated) mixes lively contemporary diction with the archaic: in the opening section ‘very fair’ echoes the young wife Abishag taken by the aged King David in the King James Version (1 Kings 1:4) as well as Pater’s rendering ‘exceeding fair’; ‘as fair as she’ recalls Shakespeare’s Helena on Hermia: ‘Through Athens I am thought as fair as she’ (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 1.1.227); while in the conclusion ‘beseech’(235 times in Shakespeare, 82 times in KJV) and ‘brought to nought’ (5 times in Shakespeare) point in the same direction.

Just as Andrew Lang’s analysis of C&P in terms of comparative folk tale looked forward to future aspects of its scholarly study, so Nora Lang’s version of the story for children anticipated the many similar versions over the twentieth century.[76]

5. Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that C&P enjoyed a rich reception in the period 1885–1905 owing to several contemporary cultural features. The perception that Apuleius was a ‘late’ and ‘decadent’ author plainly appealed to Decadent writers, both in the UK and more widely in Europe, while the associated emergence of the fairy tale as a sophisticated literary form in English clearly favoured versions of C&P, which looked to belong to the same tradition (and was in fact one of its key origins—see Chapter 1). This perception of a common narrative pattern was further linked with the interest of the time in comparative folk tale and anthropology, as well as children’s literature with classical colouring.[77] As ever, the literary adaptations of C&P constitute an artistic barometer of their times.

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[1] Symons (1893: 858–9, 866). Original spelling for this US publication is retained in the quotation.

[2] See also Wheeler (2019) for Apuleius and Decadence with an emphasis on his links with the Esoteric Revival.

[3] For this connection between Decadence and Symbolism, see Symons (1893), Thornton (1983), and Pittock (1993). For the interest of Symbolism in the story of Psyche, see Millet-Gérard (1990); note that the later French Symbolist Gabriel Mourey wrote a three-act drama on the subject of Psyche (Mourey 1913).

[4] For this characterization, see Harrison (2013: 13–37); typical is Mackail (1896: 240), who argues that the effect of Apuleius' style 'is like that of strange and rather barbarous jewellery'; most famous is Eduard Norden's full-scale attack on Apuleius' supposedly meretricious Latinity (Norden 1898: ii. 600–1).

[5] For mentions of interest in Apuleius in general discussions of Decadence, see, e.g., Thornton (1983: 24–5, 36, 39), Dowling (1986: 151–2), Weir (1995: 76–7), and, especially, Evangelista (2019: 122–3) (his whole chapter is an excellent survey of classical reception in Decadent literature, which often intersects with the material below). The 'liberated' aspect of C&P presented by Decadent writers may also have been responsible for the Pater-style prose version published by the radical gay activist Edward Carpenter in 1923 (Carpenter 1923).

[6] *Ne semble-t-il pas au lecteur, comme à moi, que la langue de la dernière décadence latine—suprême soupir d'une personne robuste, déjà transformée et préparée pour la vie spirituelle—est singulièrement propre à exprimer la passion telle que l'a comprise et sentie le monde poétique moderne?* For more on this link between late Latin (conventionally described in French academic discourse as 'la décadence') and Decadence, see Dowling (1986: 151–2) and Section 3 on Huysmans.

[7] Symons (1893: 858).

[8] Apuleius had been of considerable interest to another proto-Decadent, Gustave Flaubert: cf. Goddard (2012).

[9] See n. 4.

[10] Adlington (1887: p. vii).

[11] Cf. Zipes (1999: 49–134) and Newton (2015: pp. ix–xxviii).

[12] Sumpter (2008: 131–74). Wilde's second book of short stories, *A House of Pomegranates* (1891), owes its title to a lecture course of Pater's attended by Wilde at Oxford in the 1870s, and the version of C&P in *Marius* may have had some influence on this and Wilde's earlier collection *The Happy Prince* (1888; Wilde sent a copy to Pater), though the stories of Hans Christian Andersen are a more obvious model—see Sloan (2010: pp. xvii–xxiv).

[13] Cf. Newton (2015: p. xiv).

[14] Parts of this section rework and expand elements in Harrison (2004).

[15] See, e.g., Hext (2008: 415).

[16] See Martindale, Evangelista, and Prettejohn (2017). This excellent volume has several substantial discussions of *Marius*, some cited below, but without focusing in any detail on the figure of Apuleius or the version of C&P. See also now the survey of Pater's classical receptions in Prettejohn (2019).

[17] Quotations in the text are from Pater (1939).

[18] See Brzenk (1978).

[19] On the ambiguity of Lucius' conversion in the *Met*., see Winkler (1985) and Shumate (1996); on the ambiguity of the conversion of Marius, see, e.g., Levey (1985: 22–6). Wieland's hero Agathon undergoes a similar development of philosophical beliefs—see Chapter 3.

[20] Commodus, born 161, is presented as a young man in the book (Marcus reigned 161–80). Pater's dating of the *Met.* to the 170s matches the view of many modern scholars—cf., e.g., Harrison (2000a: 10).

[21] Brzenk (1978: 235).

[22] See the discussion in Section 1.

[23] e.g. Pater (1889: 264, 266). He may have been thinking of the long poem *Albertu*s (1832), in which the title character, a painter, falls in love with an ugly witch who transforms each midnight into a beautiful woman, and agrees to sell her his soul.

[24] See Weir (1995: 76–7) and Gautier (1986).

[25] Thus structurally echoing the original role of C&P in Apuleius as an inserted narrated tale. Just like Apuleius' tale, Pater's version was published separately (e.g. Pater 1951), with beautiful illustrations by Edmund Dulac (1882–1953; see Fig. 10).

[26] *Speciosa locis*, 'made attractive by particular passages', is a quotation from Horace's *Ars poetica* (329).

[27] 'In relief' might suggest the nineteenth-century fashion for antique-style cameo brooches depicting Psyche—for examples, see Chapter 4, and two in the Victoria and Albert Museum, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106505/psyche-cameo-unknown/, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106497/psyche-cameo-unknown/.

[28] On the characterization and Platonic views of Apuleius in *Marius*, see further Harrison (2004).

[29] For the symbolist aspects of his retelling, see Millet-Gérard (1990).

[30] Turner (1960). For another useful analysis of Pater's adaptation of C&P in terms of his own aesthetics, see Millet-Gérard (1990).

[31] See, e.g,. Prettejohn (2017).

[32] For Pater's teaching career, see Evangelista (2007) and Hurst (2017).

[33] See Zimmerman et al. (2004).

[34] See Harrison (2004). Novels in English before and after it also echo Petronius—for a rapid survey, see Harrison (2009).

[35] For this aspect of *The Last Days of Pompeii*, see Harrison (2011a).

[36] See further Harrison (2018a).

[37] The novel is dated '1881–1884' on its last page (Pater 1939: 351).

[38] The *nom de plume* of Charles-Marie-Georges Huysmans (1848–1907). For his life and career, see Vircondelet (1990).

[39] Cf., e.g., Livi (1991).

[40] On this passage and its approval of Huysmans, see Evangelista (2017: 216–17).

[41] e.g. in Nisard (1836). For a discussion of Des Esseintes' library in the context of classical reception and Decadence, see Evangelista (2019: 114–18).

[42] 'This African gave him real pleasure: the Latin language was in full swing in his Metamorphoses, carrying along silts and adulterated waters, coming in from all the provinces, all blending and mixing to give a colouring which was bizarre, exotic, almost brand new: the new mannerisms and details of Roman society found themselves being moulded into neologisms created by the requirements of conversation, in a Roman corner of Africa: and then the joviality of this man who was obviously fat, his southern exuberance were entertaining' (our translation).

[43] D'Annunzio (1989).

[44] D'Annunzio (1989: 306): 'parlandogli d'una rarissima edizione del romanzo d'Apulejo Metamorphoseon da lui acquistata pochi giorni innanzi, per mille cinquecento venti lire:— ROMA, 1469, in folio' ('talking to him of a very rare edition of the novel of Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon* [*sic*], acquired by himself a few days previously, for 1520 lire' (my translation)). This is clearly once again the first edition of 1469, edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi and printed by the Germans Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Sweynheym in Rome.

[45] So Pasetti (2020: 225, n. 5).

[46] 'La trista consuetudine dell'analisi l'incitava pur sempre, gli impediva pur sempre di obliarsi; ma ogni tentativo era punito, come la curiosità di Psiche, dall'allontanamento dell'amore, all'offuscamento dell'oggetto vagheggiato, dalla cessazion del piacere…(my translation).

[47] e.g. in Giovanni Pascoli, the great Italian poet of the Decadence, and others; see Pasetti (2020).

[48] e.g. by Bel (1996), the most convenient introduction to his work in English. Wilde and Couperus corresponded and Wilde sent Couperus a copy of *The Portrait of Dorian Gray* in 1891; see further Baud and Wintermans (2003).

[49] For a convenient discussion in English, see van der Paardt (1989)

[50] For a very brief outline in English of both novels, see Visser (1978); for an English translation of *Psyche*, see Berrington (2001) (originally published 1908), also available online at https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Psyche_(Couperus).

[51] Quotations are from Berrington (2001). The scholarly Dutch text of this work, cited below, can be found at https://dbnl.org/tekst/coup002psyc02_01/downloads.php (the printed version is van Vliet et al. 1992).

[52] Drawn from the opening of *Met.* 3, formally outside the tale of C&P in Apuleius' novel.

[53] This detail is shared with William Morris's version of the story ('The Story of Cupid and Psyche' (1631–44)), both perhaps looking back to Renaissance depictions of Venus—see the discussion of Morris in Chapter 5.

[54] For winged Psyches in Roman art, see Schlam (1976) and the full lists and images in *LIMC*, s.v 'Psyche' (7.1:569–85, 7.2.436–61). Huskinson (1996: 52–4) shows that these were often used on the sarcophagi of children; for Roman sarcophagi with winged Psyches, see, e.g., those in the gardens of Cliveden, UK (http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/766180), in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (https://images.ashmolean.org/asset/11817/) or the British Museum (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-132).

[55] Psyche is usually represented half-naked as a goddess in Roman depictions, particularly in the celebrated statues of Cupid and Psyche kissing in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (Musei Capitolini, inv. MC0408) and the Museo Archeologico Ostiense in Ostia Antica (inv. SBAO 180). See Fig. 4 for a contemporary representation. For the best-illustrated survey of European artistic representations in European art see Cavicchioli 2002, which includes (135) the well-known naked Psyches in the Palazzo Te, Mantua (Giulio Romano, 1526–8) and (87) a nude drawing of Psyche by Raphael (now in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth House, UK

[56] For neoclassical naked Psyches, see Cavicchioli (2002: 202–16,) Burne-Jones's oil painting *Pan and Psyche* (1872–4) in the Fogg Museum at Harvard (1943.187), and Leighton's *The Bath of Psyche* in Tate Britain, London (both discussed in Chapter 5).

[57] See, e.g., the dramatic adaptations discussed in Chapters 2 and 7.

[58] Pan is a favourite figure in Decadence literature: see de Palacio (2000: 44–52) and Pasetti (2020: 232).

[59] Dutch from van der Vliet et al. (1992: 99); English from Berrington (2001).

[60] See the full treatment by Drews (2020) and Chapter 7.

[61] In the UK, E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Religion* had been published in 1871, and the first version of J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* was to be published in 1890. For these works and Lang's place in their intellectual context (he debated with both authors), see Ackerman (1987: 149–61).

[62] Butcher and Lang(1879); Lang, Leaf, and Myers (1882). His three Homeric monographs stressed the unity and artistry of the poems: *Homer and the Epic* (1893), *Homer and his Age* (1906), and *The World of Homer* (1910). For this work, see Lancelyn Green (1948: 75–9).

[63] For a useful summary of his work in this area, see Donaldson (2010) and Teverson et al. (2015: 17–44).

[64] Lang (1884).

[65] Lang (1884: 64).

[66] Lang (1884: 89).

[67] Adlington (1887: pp. xvii–lxxxvi). This edition was published by David Nutt, who was shortly also to bring out Oscar Wilde's fairy-style stories (for Wilde's stories, see n. 12); Lang dedicates it to his friend Robert Bridges, whose recent version in *Eros and Psyche* he commends alongside that of William Morris (for both of these, see Chapter 5) as well as that of Pater (see above)—see Adlington (1887: p. xvi).

[68] Adlington 1887: p. xix).

[69] Adlington (1887: p. xix). Here Lang is arguing specifically against the recently published views of the French folklorist Emmanuel Cosquin (Cosquin 1886).

[70] Most notably in Swahn (1955), Mantero (1973), and Scobie (1983) (on the latter, see further Hansen and Smith 2001). For this general direction in Apuleian studies, see Schlam and Finkelpearl 2001: (135–40). For the classics of folk-tale typology mentioned here, see Propp (1928, 1958) and Thompson (1955–8).

[71] For Lang's links with Pater, see Crawford (1986).

[72] This was the only book ascribed to Lang with 'Romance' in the title; for the fairy books in general, see Lancelyn Green (1948: 80–96), for convenient online texts see https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Lang%27s_Fairy_Books#, and, for Nora's authorship, see Day (2019).

[73] Her 'Cupid and Psyche' is the only classical story in this collection apart from its Apuleian pair 'How the Ass Became a Man Again'. Nora was an excellent modern linguist and doubtless had good Latin: see Teverson et al. (2015: 164).

[74] Venus' direct request to Cupid here to make Psyche fall in love with the lowest of mortals picks up Cupid's delayed revelation that she had earlier done this (*Met.* 5.24).

[75] For similar issues in adapting C&P for a children's readership, see Maurice (2020).

[76] See again Maurice (2020).

[77] For the latter, see Murnaghan and Roberts (2018), and the relevant material in Chapter 7 and the Epilogue.

7

Cupid and Psyche in English since 1900

1. Introduction

One feature of the reception of C&P since 1900 has been the diversity of literary and performative genres into which the story has been adapted.[1] New technologies have offered new opportunities: though there has been no notable film adaptation of C&P itself,[2] well-known cinematic versions of the related story of Beauty and the Beast have been made, first by Jean Cocteau (1946, in French) and then under the Disney franchise (traditional animation, directed by Gary Trousdale and Kirk Wise, in 1991; enhanced live action, directed by Bill Condon, in 2017), in which traces of Apuleius' narrative, a key source for the original French fairy tale (see Chapter 2), can still be found.[3] On radio, Louis MacNeice's radio play *Cupid and Psyche* (1944) shows many interesting elements of adjusting to the new medium. Reception of C&P in traditional genres has also continued, and the heritage of the stage versions of Psyche at the court of Louis XIV (see Chapter 2) has still been visible in a number of operatic adaptations and theatrical reworkings.[4]

C&P has also continued to appear in its original form of prose fiction, especially by female authors.[5] C. S. Lewis's novel *Till We Have Faces* (1956) is a full-scale adaptation that sets a version of the story in a world similar to that of Norse saga, and manipulates the plot using Christian symbolism, thus picking up the allegorical interests that were an early feature of the story's reception (see Chapter 1), while A. S. Byatt uses Apuleius' story as part of the furniture of her re-created Victorian world in two different fictions from the 1990s. For its part, Francis Warner's

narrative poem *Perennia* (1962) shows that effective adaptation of C&P in long poetic form (prominent since the Renaissance—examples can be found in all the chapters of this volume) was still culturally possible in the second half of the twentieth century, while briefer poetic adaptations remain popular.

2. Louis MacNeice, 'Cupid and Psyche' (1944)

The Anglo-Irish poet Louis MacNeice (1907–63)[6] worked for the first part of his professional career as a lecturer in Classics in Birmingham and London, before joining the BBC in 1940, for whom he wrote more than 160 radio plays, including 11 on classical topics.[7] Two of these drew closely on his knowledge of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, a favourite classical text for MacNeice,[8] who had worked on it in writing the manuscript for a (never-published) book on humour in Latin literature[9] during his years as an academic: *The Golden Ass* (1944) and *Cupid and Psyche* (1944). The version of C&P contains no evident references to its wartime circumstances: Psyche's line 'Oh mirror, mirror, why can't you tell me I'm ugly?' (p. 149) may well allude to the famous line of the evil Queen in Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* (1937) 'Mirror, mirror on the wall | Who is the fairest of them all ?'; MacNeice mentions Disney in his writing elsewhere,[10] and it would be hard not to know in 1940s Britain that this famous film contained that line. This casting of Psyche as a kind of Snow White figure, overcoming dislocation and tribulations to achieve a successful marriage, is thus a cultural updating for the listener as well as a reference to the literary genre of fairy tale (the lines famously occur in a similar form in *Sneewittchen*, an 1812 work by the Brothers Grimm.[11]

MacNeice's version of C&P contains some interesting modifications of the original for the format of the radio play. Unlike in his adaptation of the rest of the *Metamorphoses* in his sister-play *The Golden Ass*, broadcast the previous week,[12] MacNeice did not need to compress the original for the radio time slot;[13] it contains some nine thousand words, much the same length as C&P itself. His retelling is largely in prose, in a relaxed and colloquial modern idiom, with occasional verse passages. As in the original, the main story is narrated by the old woman who keeps house in the cave

for the robber gang. One advantage of the radio format is that the characters of her narrative speak in their own voices: the result is that one interesting issue in the original, how far the sophisticated tale is consistent with the humble and uneducated persona of its notional narrator,[14] is effectively sidestepped, since the listener hears the voices of the characters rather than hers.

MacNeice's version is relatively close to the original, though scenes are sometimes compressed and narrative is often turned into dialogue, much livelier for radio, especially effective (for example) in the scene where Psyche's two sisters take turns to convince her of her husband's monstrous nature by Greek-drama-style stichomythia, insistent speeches of single lines (pp. 159–60). Some of the many small structural alterations are also ingenious: thus an imagined conversation between Psyche's parents on the problems of her over-popularity (pp. 148–9) is soon followed by a counterbalancing family scene where Venus pleads with her son Cupid to punish Psyche for the same transgression (pp. 149–50), while between the two (p. 149) is another family scene where Psyche's sisters already show their jealousy, natural indeed already at this stage but revealed only much later in Apuleius (*Met.* 5.9).

Venus is perhaps the best-developed character in the play. The goddess's indignant reflections on her own status and bitter attack on Psyche, delivered as an epic-style monologue in the original (*Met.* 4.30), are appropriately spoken by her to Cupid as part of her persuasion of him to act against Psyche (p. 150), while Apuleius' elaborate description of her marine retinue is put in her own mouth in another monologue, which amusingly portrays her as seeking a pleasant diversion from her divine duties (p. 150) corresponding to the pampered socialite lifestyle assigned her in the original (e.g. *Met.* 6.10–11, 6.16):

VENUS The white foam under my rosy feet, the daughters of Nereus singing around me, Tritons blowing on twisted shells and dolphins drawing my carriage! Oh what a rest, what a rest…

Along the same lines, we find her comically calling for her luxurious home comforts (pp. 166–7):

VENUS Make haste, unyoke those doves. Are you all asleep in my house? When I come home I expect at least some service. Where is my footstool, where are my Tyrian cushions, where are the raw eggs, with narcissus bulbs, for my toilet? What is wrong with this house today? Has anything happened while I've been out?

Amusing too is the hypocritical way in which she makes the best of a bad job in accepting Psyche as her daughter-in-law at the very end of the radio play (p. 178; note the royal 'we'):

VENUS This is a very light wine. Now what were we saying? Oh, Psyche, my daughter-in-law. A charming girl, dear Ceres, she'll make an excellent goddess. I don't mean her looks, of course, but she has such a flair for housework. And if there's a child—[if it's a goddess, that is]—do you know what we're going to call it?

CERES I couldn't guess, dear Venus.

VENUS We're going to call it Pleasure.

JUPITER Gods and goddesses, a toast! A toast to the bride and bridegroom. Cupid, my friends, and Psyche.

ALL Cupid and Psyche!

CUPID (against toasting voices) I love you!

PSYCHE (against toasting voices) I love you!

(voices die out)

VENUS Yes, my dear—it was my idea of course—we're going to call it Pleasure![15]

As already noted, heightened moments in the narrative are sometimes cast in verse, or indeed in elevated language, sometimes echoing the same effect in the original. For example, Psyche's high-style prayer to Ceres is echoed in archaic prayer-language similar to that of the Latin original (p. 165):

PSYCHE O holy Ceres, by thy right hand that scatters the corn I pray thee, by the joyful rites of harvest and the winged flights of thy dragons…Have pity on me thy servant and grant me sanctuary here among these sheaves and fruits to avoid the wrath of Venus.

Cf. *Met.* 6.2:[16]

> *Per ego te frugiferam tuam dexteram istam deprecor per laetificas messium caerimonias per tacita secreta cistarum et per famulorum tuorum draconum pinnata curricula…miserandae Psyches animae supplicis tuae subsiste*.

The Latin verse oracle in elegiac couplets that precipitates Psyche's exposure on the rock is rendered in neat rhyming lines (p. 151):

> Unhappy king, who ask your daughter's doom,
> Know; Psyche's bridal bed must be her tomb.
> These are your orders: dress the maid in black,
> Expose her on the mountain—look not back,
> For her appointed bridegroom is not even
> A man, but a dread monster darkening heaven;
> None other must your tender daughter wed—
> Tomorrow married and tomorrow dead!

Cf. *Met.* 4.33:

> *Montis in excelsi scopulo, rex siste puellam*
> *ornatam mundo funerei thalami.*
> *Nec speres generum mortali stirpe creatum,*
> *sed saevum atque ferum vipereumque malum,*
> *quod pinnis volitans super aethera cuncta fatigat*
> *flammaque et ferro singula debilitat,*
> *quod tremit ipse Iovis quo numina terrificantur,*
> *fluminaque horrescunt et Stygiae tenebrae.*

Here MacNeice removes some of the clues that the oracle in fact refers to Cupid rather than to a 'real' monster: the Latin refers to his flying through the skies and attacking with fire and iron, and being feared by Jupiter—all characteristics that give the reader a broad hint as to the true identity of the 'monster'. Here some of the narratological subtlety of the Apuleian original is removed; this may be partly explained by the difference of media, since a reader can turn back to an ironic anticipation of this kind while a radio listener cannot.

The medium of radio has some added advantages, however. The availability of incidental music leads to several effectively humorous moments in the play—for example, the argument between Psyche's parents as she goes to her apparent death (pp. 151–2):

MOTHER If my daughter must go to her death, it ought to be done properly. You've remembered about the musicians?

FATHER No, I'm afraid!—

MOTHER You must be losing your memory. I will have music for Psyche's wedding.

FATHER Psyche's funeral.

MOTHER Well, don't let's dispute about words. The ascent of that mountain must be conducted to music. It will help Psyche too.

MUSIC FUNERAL MARCH.

Or Jupiter's complaint about his royal trumpeters (p. 175):

FATHER I am going to speak to Jupiter.

MUSIC. JUPITER FANFARE.

JUPITER Trumpeters, cease!

MUSIC. FANFARE BREAKS OFF.

JUPITER This prelude is not really necessary every time I have visitors. Let him or her come in.

The use of music can also create its own narrative effects. In MacNeice's version Mercury is presented in the act of making two proclamations, both similarly accompanied by trumpets (seeking Psyche the escaped slave (p. 166) and summoning the gods to assembly (p. 176)), where there is only one reported at length in the original (the first, *Met*. 6.8; the second is only summarized, *Met*. 6.23).

The special and magical atmosphere of Cupid's palace is invoked both by the use of music and by Psyche's use of verse to describe it (pp. 153–4):

MUSIC. ENCHANTMENT MUSIC AND BEHIND.

PSYCHE Citron, ivory, silver, gold,
One room, two rooms, three rooms, four rooms,
Chests of treasure without a lock,
Door after door without a keeper,
Bright mosaics that no one treads,
Carven chairs where no one sits –

And listen, listen:

MUSIC. up music and quickly behind again.

PSYCHE Music rising from floors and creeping
Out of the dazzling walls and dropping
From coffered ceilings and broidered arras—
Music without musicians!

Verse and music similarly combine to mark the solemn ascent of Psyche from the Underworld (p. 174):

MUSIC. BRING IN ASCENSION MUSIC BEHIND.

PSYCHE Upwards, upwards, upwards, upwards,
Out of the poppied dark of Death,
Up to the green of trees and grass,
Away from the souls that squeak like bats,
Up to the life of birds and men,
Climbing, climbing, climbing, climbing
Up to the chorus of stars at night,
Up to the clangour of sun by day:
Daylight, daylight, daylight, daylight,
Light!

But there are many comic scenes to lighten the mood, several of which are added in by MacNeice. There is a running joke about the god Pan (who, as in the original, helps Psyche in her quest—cf. *Met*. 5.25) teaching the nymph Echo to play the pipes: he interrupts his instruction to help Psyche (p. 162), but is then found near the end of the play disturbing Jupiter with the noise of his music (p. 177):[17]

PAN Ah no, Echo my lass, I’m afraid you’ve got no ear. Now we’ll just try that passage again—

JUPITER Pan! Pan my friend!

PAN Yes, my lord?

JUPITER If you could possibly wait until we've finished the banquet? Your piping is most delightful but—well, it does interrupt conversation.

(laughter)

PAN I suppose it might; I never thought about that. I've been so long with my goats and—

(laughter)

PAN Well, maybe I could have some more wine?

JUPITER Ganymede! Fill up his cup.

In another amusing vignette, Cupid almost gives his identity away to Psyche when he arrives like a fatigued husband returning from a business trip (p. 161):

CUPID …Come, let us kiss and sleep: I am so tired, I have had such a long flight.

PSYCHE Flight?

CUPID Ride—such a long ride. Come, kiss me. Goodnight, Psyche.

Here and elsewhere the play is coy about sex—Psyche does not evidently have intercourse with Cupid, and certainly does not become pregnant. In this, as in the omission of Venus' promise via Mercury's proclamation of a tongued kiss to whoever finds the fugitive Psyche, the 1940s BBC standards of decorum are observed.[18] A nicely comic tone is struck in the scene where the mythical Cerberus of the original (silently appeased by drugged food (*Met.* 6.20)) is replaced by a lively porter (recalling that of *Macbeth*, Act 2 scene 3) with the manner of a comic policeman (not unlike Aeacus in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 464–78) at p. 173:[19]

PORTER Here, here, here, young lady, where do you think you're goin'?

PSYCHE I want to see Proserpina.

PORTER You do, do you? What for?

PSYCHE I have a favour to ask, I—

PORTER A favour, eh? The Queen of Death don't deal so much in favours. And take it from me: she ain't in a very good mood.

This amusing and well-wrought version seems to be the only explicit adaptation of the story for radio; Sylvia Plath's BBC radio play *Three Women* (1962) clearly draws on elements of the tale, but is not a version of it.[20] The playing-up in MacNeice's piece of the comic aspects of C&P suits both his own interest in Roman comedy and the festive season of the original broadcast (28 December 1944), but this comic colouring[21] and the play's subtle literary allusions in general also reproduce a feature of the original[22] that MacNeice the classical scholar was well placed to appreciate.

3. C. S. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces* (1956)

C. S. Lewis (1898–1963) studied Classics and later English at Oxford, and knew Greek and Latin authors well.[23] Fascinated with C&P since childhood, he worked on the project that became the novel *Till We Have Faces* (henceforward *TWHF*) already as an undergraduate, planning to turn the story into a masque (of Psyche and Caspian) or a drama,[24] and a fragmentary poem from 1923 on C&P exists; he returned to it in 1955 and discussed how to turn it into a book with Joy Davidman Gresham, whom he later married, and to whom he dedicated *TWHF*. Seventy-six lines in heroic couplets survive of the fragmentary early poem and were published only recently as 'On Cupid and Psyche.[25] The poem, like the later novel, defends the older sister's behaviour against her portrait in Apuleius' novel, and blames Psyche's twin brother Jardis for the wrong version coming down to us (ll. 1–3):[26]

> The tale of Psyche is unjustly told
> And half the truth concealed by all who hold
> With Apuleius…

Apuleius is criticized as misrepresenting the nature of Venus, too, as it is not her but the human fear of droughts that cause Psyche to be sacrificed; in these ways the early poem much anticipates *TWHF*. But Lewis has Psyche's sacrifice as the last in a list starting with slaves and commoners, and adds Psyche's twin brother, Jardis, and Caspian,[27] an older half-sister of the twins and Orual-figure who cares for the twins (who, like Orual, cannot see the palace), into the plot. Lewis clarifies that there were not two ugly sisters

in this fairy-tale-like version as there were in *Cinderella*. The poem breaks off soon after that.

TWHF itself[28] starts *in medias res*, and is presented as written by Orual, Psyche's oldest sister, Queen of Glome, in her old age as an accusation of injustice against the gods, especially the Shadowbrute, or God of the Grey Mountain, the son of Ungit (Cupid and Venus/Aphrodite). Her teacher, the Fox, is an enslaved Greek and a Stoic. Ungit's faceless and horrible statue receives blood sacrifices. Orual retells their (and their sister Redival's) childhood. Psyche, whose real name is Istra, is her youngest (half-)sister by another mother who died giving birth to her. 'Psyche', Orual explains, is the translation of her name into Greek. Orual becomes fiercely protective of Psyche. As a young woman, the beautiful Psyche is worshipped as a goddess, like Ungit, just as Apuleius' Psyche is mistaken for Venus (ch. 3), but, when a plague hits Glome, she is exposed alone on the Grey Mountain as a human sacrifice to Ungit's son, The Brute, to appease the gods' anger.

Orual and the Fox consider haggling about the day of the sacrifice, but Psyche goes willingly to her sacrificial exposure on the mountain. Orual falls very sick with despair. Weeks later, her father's kind guard Bardia teaches Orual to fight, and, starved of affection, she falls in love with him. Bardia takes Orual to the mountain to bury Psyche's bones, but Orual finds her alive (ch. 9). Psyche tells Orual that she is married to the god and lives in his beautiful palace right there, but, crucially, Orual cannot see it and believes Psyche to be hallucinating. Psyche tells Orual that she had been given some 'sweet sticky stuff to drink', a drug (ch. 10); Psyche is also drugged in Hudson Gurney's version (see Chapter 4), when she was taken to the mountain, and then carried by the West Wind to the Beast's palace, where she was served by invisible voices and married to the god, whom she has never seen. Orual, horrified, and jealous of the gods, leaves, at which point she suddenly seems to catch a brief glimpse of the palace itself (ch. 12). Still, she forces her sister to look at her husband and thus break his taboo, and from afar watches Psyche lighting her lamp. Apuleius' Psyche is gullible; Lewis's Psyche proceeds under duress, as Orual otherwise threatens suicide. After a fearful cataclysm, Orual has a vision of the god herself, who tells her that Psyche will be exiled from him, and Orual herself will be called Psyche from now on (ch. 15).

This prophecy will become true in several ways. Orual, however, interprets this experience as proof the gods hate her. She soon becomes

queen after her father's death, and rules wisely. Because of her ugliness, Orual begins to wear a veil at all times. At night in her palace, Orual thinks she hears Psyche crying, which may or may not be fountain chains clinking. Here the reader's knowledge of Apuleius *Met*. 5.25–7, where Psyche visits her sisters, adds nuance to Orual's trauma. Over the years, Orual's veiled face leads to rumours she was so beautiful that she made Ungit jealous—one of the many ways in which Orual, indeed, becomes Psyche. Close to his death, the Fox, too, mistakes her for Psyche and also calls her Crethis, 'Woman from Crete', an interesting echo of the many associations of Psyche with Crete since at least Prasch in 1685 (ch. 20; on Prasch, see Chapter 3). When Orual reaches old age, she travels to the neighbouring country Essur and finds a statue in a shrine of Psyche worshipped as a goddess, but with veiled face. Her priest confirms that this young and most recent goddess is Psyche (compare Keats's vision of Psyche as a new goddess (Chapter 4)), retells her story in the words well known from the opening of Apuleius' version,[29] which make it sound like a fairy tale and do not agree with Orual's family situation, and explains that Psyche's story has become an annual ritual. Orual is upset at the 'wrongness' of this new myth, where the palace is visible and both of Psyche's sisters visited her, became jealous of Psyche's good fortune, and betrayed her. The story unsettles Orual deeply; she begins to write the book before us to set the story straight, which becomes part 1.

In the much shorter part 2, Orual backtracks and, on her deathbed, rewrites her story to correct it, reassessing all her relationships with the people in her life and everyone's motives. She experiences visions of herself merging into Ungit, and of undergoing Psyche's labours alongside and instead of her, which allows her to discover her own nature and identity. In a climactic vision of the judgement of the dead,[30] Psyche, the Fox, and Orual are joined in a happy, divinely blessed union. Here she begins to understand that she, too, is Psyche undergoing the labours and bearing her burdens for her. Orual is reconciled to the gods, and one of them proclaims to her that 'you also are Psyche'. Shortly after that vision, Orual dies, and her book is sent off to Greece by Ungit's priest.

In the 1920s, when he worked on his poem, Lewis was agnostic, but when he wrote *TWHF* he had returned to his Anglican faith; the story changes accordingly. The sister moves from being merely unable to see Psyche's palace to being prevented from doing so by her shortcomings and

jealous love for Psyche.[31] As Drews (2020) shows, Lewis Christianizes the Apuleian plot in accordance with his own views on religion. Orual too undergoes a conversion of sorts, from hating the gods to embracing them in her later life. The novel also changes the approach from a defence of Orual's actions to showing her initial response to the mystery as wrong and driven by her lack of belief in the gods.

Other changes from Apuleius and the early poem are equally intertextually interesting. As in Morris's version, which Lewis refers to alongside that of Bridges in his introductory 'note' to the New York edition (Lewis 1957), there is a Norse (or possibly Scythian[32]) setting: the realistic and barbaric Glome[33] is situated on a fjord, and there are snow and ice (ch. 1), but the land also grows almonds and cherries, and the mountains breed lions (chs 2; 4). As Lewis points out in the same 'note', 'the central alteration in [his] own version consists in making Psyche's palace invisible to normal, mortal eyes', and Apuleius is neither an 'influence' nor the story's original author, but merely a 'source', even though this is a misleading statement.[34] Just like the original *Metamorphoses* as a whole, this book, too, has an unexpected ending in its much shorter second part, which completely redefines the narrative of part 1, as Orual moves from trying to understand the mysteries of Ungit (ch. 2) to ceasing to accuse the gods. Drews points out how, in the novel, the Fox's Stoicism becomes gradually replaced by Platonism.[35] This philosophical metamorphosis recalls a similar character development in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* of 1885 (see Chapter 6), where the protagonist moves from Epicureanism and Stoicism to Platonism and an unspoken Christianity, and also looks back to Lucius' move in Apuleius' novel as a whole from the fervent pursuit of witchcraft to his initiations into the Isis cult.[36] Lewis thus leans towards the serious, Platonist interpretation of the story.

The main four plot changes from Apuleius are set out by Storey.[37] Lewis situates the story in Glome during the Hellenistic period; the story is told by Psyche's older sister Orual as a first-person narrative, an unreliable narrator; Orual loves Psyche, possessively, rather than hating her out of jealousy; and, as Lewis himself notes, most importantly, the palace of Cupid is invisible to Orual during her single visit,[38] but she does have a brief vision of it. A further important change to add here is the motivation of Psyche's father, who in Apuleius, alongside the girl's mother, sadly and faithfully

obeys the command of the oracle he requested, but in Lewis is distant to all his daughters, acts in his own selfish political interest, and is even glad that the victim to allay the plague that is ravaging Glome has been deemed to be his daughter, not himself. Storey also gives a useful overview of other Greek myths reflected in *TWHF* and their functions in the novel, such as allusions to Andromeda and Helen representing beauty, jealousy, and hubris leading to destruction. All these sources apart from Apuleius are Greek. The second part in many ways is Orual's palinode,[39] and Stesichorus' Helen palinode, in which he retracted his earlier attack on her, is included in the library of eighteen volumes Orual accumulates in the library of Glome.

Just like Lucius, Orual is not a reliable narrator, especially in the first part. Like Lucius, she is mistaken about other people's motivations and her own. She needs to learn to love other people selflessly. The novel is an exploration of faith and the nature of the divine. Orual's conversion echoes not only that of Apuleius' Lucius to the religion of Isis, but also Lewis' own from atheism to Anglicanism.[40] Psyche becomes Christianized, as a representation not so much of Christ but of the Christian soul, as Lewis himself sets out.[41]

Orual's story is an inner journey of self-recognition. After her undergoing Psyche's trials and seeing a vision of Psyche undergoing the same, the novel ends with divine words to Orual: 'You are Psyche.' Given that Psyche also looks like Ungit (Venus/Aphrodite), the allegorical reading here, in the wake of others like Fulgentius, encourages the reader to see Orual as the body, and Psyche as the soul, although there is no clear equivalence. The identities of Orual, Psyche, and Ungit/Aphrodite become confused and interchangeable. For example, early on in Orual's illness during Psyche's marriage, Orual dreams that Psyche was 'kicking me and dragging me by the hair, Psyche with a torch or a sword or a whip pursuing me over vast swamps and dark mountains' (ch. 8); Psyche is associated with Venus torturing her in classical iconography on gems and in poetry, and Venus tortures Psyche in *Met*. 6.9 in similar ways, while Apuleius' Isis claims to impersonate all goddesses in her relevatory speech in *Metamorphoses* 11 (5–6). Just like the *Metamorphoses*, *TWHF* invites a rereading after the final chapters to discover the places where Orual is a less than reliable narrator. Interestingly, the doubling of characters we have seen in other novels is reversed here, with a collapse of three characters into one.

4. Francis Warner, *Perennia* (1962)

Perennia, an early work of the poet and dramatist Francis Warner (1937–2021), adapts C&P in the form of an attractive long poem that has a number of interesting literary devices and affinities.[42] Psyche is renamed Perennia, and her story is presented in sixty-eight eight-line stanzas, a slightly varied form of the Spenserian stanza (ababbcbcc),[43] the metre used by Mary Tighe in her *Psyche* (see Chapter 4) and close in form and historical associations to the rime royal of Bridges's *Eros and Psyche* (see Chapter 5); Warner's poem shares with the latter the interesting formal combination of a Renaissance metre with contemporary language. William Morris's version in *The Earthly Paradise* (see Chapter 5 again) is clearly a source; Warner may also have been drawn to the story by the recent adaptation by his Cambridge graduate supervisor C. S. Lewis[44] in *Till We Have Faces* (1956), discussed above.

The most striking element of Warner's adaptation of C&P is its detailed pastoral setting, which, as we shall see, reflects an engagement with the Greek pastoral novel *Daphnis and Chloe*. In stanzas I–VIII we find the poet, accompanied by his flute, at the landmark stepping stones over the River Mole below the beauty spot of Box Hill in Surrey.[45] He reclines against a rowan tree and plays his flute to the rich September landscape, evidently a version of the pastoral *locus amoenus*, complete with its classic elements of warmth, trees, shade, and running water.[46] The flute seems to be partly a metaphor for the pastoral literary tradition, as in the 'oaten flute' of Milton's *Lycidas* (l. 33); it prefigures the clear use of *Daphnis and Chloe* in the poem (see below). The poet's playing is answered by flute music emerging from the rustic landscape itself, described in considerable detail, just as in *Daphnis and Chloe*, where rich depictions of landscape and the changing seasons are a key element. This surreal element looks forward to the poem's end where the reader discovers that its main narrative (stanzas VIII–LXVII) is in fact a dream, when the poet awakes beside the stepping stones (stanza LXVII).

This framing device of a sun-induced riverbank dream under a tree resulting in a fantastic narrative ineluctably recalls Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865). There, in chapter 1, Alice 'was beginning to get very tired of sitting by her sister on the bank' and 'the hot day made her feel very

sleepy and stupid'; as in Warner's poem, we discover that she has fallen asleep and that her fantastic narrative is in fact a dream only in the final chapter (ch. XII), where she awakes to find herself 'lying on the bank, with her head in the lap of her sister, who was gently brushing away some dead leaves that had fluttered down from the trees upon her face'. *Alice in Wonderland* is a story that in fact has some of the overall features of C&P: it also presents a young female protagonist wandering in a fantastic world, conversing with non-human creatures miraculously endowed with human speech, and suffering persecution by a powerful female figure.[47]

Warner's main dream-narrative begins with the poet seeing a woman weeping into a stream[48] (stanza IX):

> Her long hair hung about her childlike face
> Framing it in a waterfall cascade
> Of dew-drenched gold, giving a gentle grace
> To all her form, down which the sunlight played
> With flickering smiles while to the stream she prayed:
> 'Why has the cruel wind carried me here
> Away, alone to-day when, had I stayed,
> I should have been a bride? What did it fear?
> Help me to understand, full stream, so calm and clear.'

This makes clear that we are now some way into the plot of C&P, in fact at the equivalent of *Met.* 5.1, where Psyche discovers that she has been transported by the Zephyr to a strange new environment (she had shed tears as she was carried off in the previous chapter, *Met.* 4.35). The heroine's anxious address to the river looks ahead to the rivers encountered by Psyche in her wanderings, in which she tries to drown herself in despair but which aid her in her quest to find Cupid (*Met.* 5.25, 6.12). As at *Met.* 6.12, the distressed heroine's request to the river is answered, not by the river itself, but by another part of nature, magically endowed with human speech: in C&P this is the humble reed, which advises Psyche how to accomplish her labours, while Perennia is addressed by a cricket. Here it is hard not to think of another nineteenth-century children's classic, Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1883), where the ghost of a cricket gives the hero consistent helpful advice (famously reanimated as the conscience-figure Jiminy Cricket in the Disney film *Pinocchio* of 1940).[49]

Warner's speaking cricket summarizes events parallel to those of *Met.* 4.28–31 (stanza XII):

> ‘You have been carried by the wind, unseen,
> And set away from cheering crowds apart:
> For Hespera, the jealous Goddess Queen,
> By you has lost her rule over man’s heart:
> And she who smooths the oceans and can chart
> The wandering planets’ courses will not bear
> One who will rival her, with power to start
> Spring fires of love in mortals everywhere;
> And harsh the punishment she cries on those who dare.’

Hespera is clearly the Apuleian Venus, the goddess of the evening star (Hesperus, the planet Venus); there is a hint of this later in the poem (stanza XXXVI), where the oak tree who welcomes Perennia to her new home ceases speaking as the ‘early, brightest evening star’ rises, presumably in order that Venus/Hesperus should not detect and punish Perennia. Perennia is comforted, undresses, and bathes in the river (stanzas XIII–XIV). Here Warner’s version seems to provide an open-air version of Morris’s account of Psyche’s bath (‘The Story of Cupid and Psyche’, ll. 661–8), which, as we saw in Chapter 5, adds explicit disrobing to Apuleius’ original narrative.[50]

Another innovation in Warner’s version is the complete removal of Cupid’s luxurious palace: it is replaced with an analogously luxuriant rural landscape inhabited by rich plant and animal life, with a cave for shelter and sleep (stanza XXV). Here again Morris’s version may be an influence: he seems to be the source for the nature of the first encounter between Cupid and Perennia/Psyche. In the original they meet in the darkness of the palace’s bridal bedroom (*Met.* 5.4), but in Morris’s version this happens when Cupid finds his beloved asleep (ll. 350–70), an element that occurs in Mary Tighe’s *Psyche* and is much depicted in pre-Raphaelite art (see Chapters 4 and 5 above). In Warner’s stanza XVI, ‘a boyish figure with a bow’ appears (evidently Cupid), gazes at the sleeping Perennia, and kisses her cheek, all as in Morris.

This version of Cupid is a young rustic herdsman; he wears a goatskin (stanza XVII) and, as he gazes at the sleeping Perennia, thinks of showing her ‘his mountain goats, his tender calf | new-born’ (stanza XVIII). Here (and in Warner’s use throughout of the Greek name Eros for Apuleius’ and Morris’s Latin Cupid) there is clear interaction with a further classical text, the second-century CE Greek novel *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, set in the pastoral landscape of the Greek island of Lesbos. There the protagonist lover Daphnis is a goatherd who falls in love with the shepherdess Chloe;

he is also a skilled player on the rustic flute or pipe, alluded to by the pastoral flute of Warner's introductory setting (above). There is a notable episode in the novel where Chloe falls asleep in the open air and is admired by Daphnis, who wishes to kiss her but fears to wake her up (Longus 1.25); this is surely picked up in Warner's scene here.[51]

This use of *Daphnis and Chloe* becomes a key strand in Warner's version of the Apuleian story, which thus constitutes a neat combination of two of the most prominent prose-fiction love narratives from the ancient world.[52] In Warner's retelling, Eros does kiss Perennia's cheek and then swiftly disappears (stanzas XVII–XIX), but (as in Mary Tighe's version, see Chapter 4), she has a rapid impression of the boy-god's face as she wakes and falls in love with him; she is then surrounded by birds and animals in a kind of homage.[53] An oak tree speaks to Perennia, offering her sanctuary in the country and the service of the birds and animals to provide her with food and drink. The oak's speech reveals the identity of the god, naming him as Eros (stanza XXV) and saying that he will come with his 'godlike body' (stanza XXVI). This is a marked difference from Apuleius, where the god's name and status are not disclosed before the climactic moment when Psyche sees him asleep by lamplight (*Met.* 5.22).

The vocal plant (like the speaking cricket of stanzas X–XIII) recalls the speaking reed of *Met.* 6.12, but is also a rustic version of the magical disembodied voice that speaks to Psyche to offer her the freedom of Cupid's palace, just as the ministering fauna echo the palace's unseen servants (*Met.* 5.3): the oak announces 'These hillslopes, lady, and this cave are yours' (stanza XXV), just as the voice in the palace proclaims *tua sunt haec omnia*, 'all these things are yours' (*Met.* 5.2). This invitation is shortly supplemented by the voice of the unseen Eros himself, inviting Perennia to eat, drink, and rest with him (stanza XXVIII). Their first night together in the garden seems to be spent in innocent talk rather than erotic congress (stanza XXVIII: 'And spend the hours in happiness and play | Of childish innocence while he beside her lay'), but crucially Perennia (like Psyche) does not get to see the god.

This element of sexual innocence is another key borrowing from *Daphnis and Chloe*, where the main point of the plot is that the two lovers only gradually realize the nature of physical love and where their full union is postponed until their marriage at the novel's end. In the Greek text the protagonists follow the instructions of Philetas, their experienced tutor in

love, to kiss, embrace, and lie down naked together (Longus 2.7), but, despite naïve experimentation, do not go any further (Longus 2.10). This is, of course, a fundamental contrast with C&P, where congress takes place at once, and necessarily excludes the element of Psyche's subsequent pregnancy, thus removing for reasons of literary imitation what Tighe, Morris, and Pater expurgated to suit nineteenth-century morality (see Chapters 4, 5, and 6 above).

A particularly clever merging of Apuleius and *Daphnis and Chloe* is presented in Warner's figure of Salacia, introduced as Perennia's sole sister for whose companionship she longs (stanzas XXIX–XXX, matching Psyche's two sisters in Apuleius). Her name, which expresses her salacious sexual interest in Eros, is actually taken from a lesser sea deity in Apuleius who forms part of Venus' marine escort on her first appearance (*Met.* 4.31);[54] but her role is clearly that of Lycaenion, the lustful and devious sexually experienced woman from the city who undertakes to teach Daphnis about sex, supposedly to help him with his love for Chloe (Longus 3.17–18). Salacia on her arrival initially plays the role of the Apuleian sisters of Psyche, being seized with jealousy and maliciously arousing Perennia's doubts about the Eros she has never really seen beyond a momentary glance at his face (stanza XXXII; cf. *Met.* 5.17):

> Can he be a pure, immortal child
> Such as you say? If he is fine to view,
> Why does he hide a body that is mild
> And harmless? He may be a beast, gross and defiled.

In Salacia's sisterly advice to Perennia, Apuleius' lamp, which is to reveal Cupid's identity and precipitate his flight, is replaced by a suitably rustic glowing branch that neatly doubles up as a potential deadly weapon, matching Apuleius' razor intended to kill Cupid (stanzas XXXIV, XLI–III). Salacia then turns into Lycaenion, urging Daphnis to sleep with her in order to learn what he needs to do with Chloe (stanzas XXXVI–VII). As Daphnis does, Eros agrees, and they sleep together. The same night, however, unlike Lycaenion, who intends only to initiate Daphnis erotically and lives to attend the final wedding of Daphnis and Chloe, Salacia dies catastrophically (stanzas XXXVIII–IX):

> Then blasted with milk of eternity
> her body scattered in a thunderflash
> Over the hill-slopes far out to the sea.

This gory exit seems to combine Zeus' self-revelation to his mortal lover Semele, which destroys her in a thunder-flash (narrated at Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.287–315) with the end of Psyche's wicked sisters, smashed to pieces on craggy rocks when they thought they would be carried by Zephyr to Cupid (*Met*. 5.27), another neat suturing of classical sources.[55]

At the fatal moment of revelation, the oil-drop from Psyche's lamp (*Met.* 5.22) is echoed by a spark from Perennia's rustic branch, which reveals Eros in all his glory but burns him and causes his flight (stanza XLII). Psyche's wanderings after the revelation, her encounters with Juno and Ceres, and Venus's hunt for her via Mercury's proclamation are all then omitted in Warner's version: Perennia goes to Hespera, not as a last resort (as Psyche does to Venus), but to receive tasks from her persecutor as notionally impossible conditions for their reconciliation (stanza XLVIII); Hespera intends like Venus that these fearsome impositions should lead to the younger female's death (stanza LIV). Like Apuleius' Psyche (*Met*. 6.10–20), Perennia receives four tasks of increasing difficulty (stanzas XLVI–LXII), culminating in a descent to the Underworld to fetch some of Proserpina's beauty: but the first three are suitably modified from the original to fit the more pastoral setting of *Perennia.*

The first, sorting out a vast heap of grains that Psyche accomplishes by the help of ants (*Met*. 6.10) becomes 'searching all the river-bed to count | The hairs upon the lily-stalks' (stanza XLVI), in which Perennia is aided by all the creatures of the river, reflecting the earlier speech of the oak tree, which had promised her the faithful service of the local wildlife (stanza XXIV). Apuleius' second labour of fetching a tuft of wool from the fierce flock of sheep (a version of the quest of the Golden Fleece) becomes picking an apple in a fearsome mountain environment,[56] where she is aided by a golden eagle; both location and helper take something from Psyche's third labour, which consists in fetching a container of water from a mountain spring in which she too is aided by an eagle. Perennia's third trial is completely different from any of Psyche's, and seems like a straightforward attempt to kill her rather than a labour—to be enclosed for a full night in a cave full of scorching fires, from which she is shielded by a cocoon made by silkworms and the aid of salamanders; this surely echoes the biblical burning fiery furnace into which three pious Israelites are

placed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, from which they are miraculously saved by God's intervention (Daniel 3:13–30).[57] As in Morris's version of Apuleius' story (see Chapter 5), biblical narrative can easily be combined with a reception of C&P.[58]

The final labour of descent to the Underworld begins, as in Apuleius, with the heroine's despairing reaction of attempted suicide; in both texts she is rescued from this by animated nature, the speaking tower from which she tries to leap in C&P and the river in which she tries to drown herself in *Perennia.* Both tell her how to enter the Underworld, for Perennia by using a tuft of goatskin that Eros had left with her on his first appearance (stanzas XIX, LVIII–IX), a pastoral version of the barley cakes and coin recommended and employed in Apuleius (*Met.* 6.18–20). As in C&P, the heroine fails this last test in trying to take some of Proserpina's beauty for herself and is rescued by Cupid/Eros (stanza LXII–LXVII).

Where C&P ends with the marriage of the lovers and Psyche's acceptance into Olympus (*Met.* 6.22–4), the main narrative of *Perennia* concludes in the long final stanza group (stanza LXVII) with Perennia's own triumphant song, strikingly set in quite a different metre and ornamented with a refrain that makes its key theme quite clear:

> Ride on with me to the lands of tomorrow,
> sail where our souls will be sundered no more,
> Far from where breakers of parting and sorrow
> pound on the heart like the waves on the shore.

As in C&P, the final uniting of the lovers forms the plot's climax, but its ecstatic voicing of Perennia's song 'to the skies' and her self-proclaimed status as guide to better things adds a good deal to her apotheosis in the original. It seems to bring in the celebrated end of Goethe's *Faust*, where the reborn Faust is finally drawn to heaven by a collection of female holy spirits that include his former lover Gretchen.[59]

> Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis
> Das Unzulängliche, hier wird's Ereignis
> Das Unbeschreibliche, hier ist's getan
> Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.
> All that is impermanent is just an image;
> What is unattainable here comes to pass;
> What is indescribable is here accomplished:
> The eternal feminine draws us on upwards.[60]

As noted earlier, *Perennia* ends not on this lofty note but with the quieter closure of the pastoral dream-frame (stanza LXVII), in which the poet awakes, 'Lying upon that bank beneath the rowan tree'. Here Warner's poem alludes to another key text of classical pastoral: this final line recognizably imitates the opening line of Vergil's *Eclogues* (1.1): *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* ('lying underneath the cover of a spreading beech-tree'), where the poet–herdsman Tityrus reclines under a tree to sing his pastoral poetry, parallel to Warner's pastoralized poem.

This poem thus presents a reception of C&P with a rich literary texture matching that of the original, drawing on an interesting range of classical and English texts, and repaying careful analysis. Its pastoral colouring of C&P allows it to interweave Apuleius' Latin text with the Greek pastoral novel of Longus, combining the two most prominent love stories in the tradition of the ancient novel, and also the two that have the most resonance in English literature; but it also recognizes the fantastic and fairy-tale associations of C&P (see Chapter 2) by alluding to the stories of Alice, Pinocchio, and Snow White, as well as acknowledging its high status in world literature by linking it with Milton, Goethe, Plato, and Vergil. This is in our view a successful and agreeable poetic work that deserves greater critical prominence.

5. James Merrill, 'From the Cupola' (1966)

The major US poet James Merrill (1926–1995), a Pulitzer laureate,[61] showed some interest in the story of C&P. In a section (6) of his early 1951 poem 'Variations and Elegy: White Stag, White Bear' (1951), we find a pair of lovers who marry and experience a C&P-style bedroom scene:[62]

> They married, but kept journals. *First*, he wrote,
> *Coffee with Psyche by the river*…
> So, where he slept in the dark bed, she took
> A candle, wooed his profile with the kiss
> Of all things bodiless,
> Until his hand, fighting this new light, struck
> Quick tears and knowledge from her gaze
> And it was him she pardoned, not his hand
> That holding hot advantage like a wand,
> Conjured its own disguise.

The candle is clearly a version of Psyche's lamp, while 'all things bodiless' might be a reminiscence of Cupid's incorporeal household, and the male's resistance to the light's revelation and the female's tearfulness and realization both also point back to the lamp scene of Apuleius' story, triggered by the earlier mention of the female's name as Psyche.

In Merrill's later substantial narrative poem 'From the Cupola' (1966), we find a more developed adaptation of C&P.[63] A family of three sisters, Psyche (apparently the youngest), Alice, and Gertrude, are depicted living together in a Greek revival house[64] on the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound. Psyche is the recipient of a series of love letters from a man she does not know, whom her sisters jokingly claim is divine: 'Somebody Up There loves you, Psyche sweet.' The poem presents Psyche's thoughts, which suggest that her epistolary lover is a necessary 'sheer projection', which enlivens her lonely life, and that if they really met it would be a catastrophe equal to Psyche's revelation of Cupid's identity in C&P:

> Were the warm drop
> upon your letter oil and were that page
> your sleeping person then
> all would indeed be lost

Traces of Cupid's winged and youthful nature are seen in Psyche's musings about her lover:

> You will not come
> to the porch at noon will you rustling your wings
> or masked as crone or youth…

An inserted narrative from Psyche's sister Alice suggests that Psyche and her lover in fact met long ago as children on a seaside holiday at Palm Beach, Florida: Cupid's wings are again ironically figured in what seems to be a characterization of the lover as 'a little boy with water wings'. We then return to the thoughts of Psyche herself, who imagines a life of marriage to her Cupid-lover:

> Eros husband names distort
> you who have no name
> Peace upon your neophytes
> Help me when the christenings shall start
> o my love
> to defend your sleep from them
> and see according to our lights

The phrase ‘see according to our lights’ becomes a refrain in this stanzaic section of the poem, evoking once again the lamp scene in C&P; in this section the poet also strikingly intervenes in his own persona (‘Psyche, hush. This is me, James’), suggesting that the mysterious correspondent represents desire: ‘He is love’, alluding to the name Eros, and that he represents the life of love and fulfilment that Psyche might have away from her sisters.

In the next section (in prose), Psyche is seen in another version of the C&P lamp scene: raiding the dark larder of the family house, she is discovered by Gertrude and urged to switch on the light to reveal whether she is eating an apricot.[65] This gives Psyche apparent thoughts of escape from her home, with another modernizing allusion to the lamp scene: ‘a moment nevertheless had come to take the electric torch and leave her sisters without a word,’ combining Psyche’s lamp and Cupid’s rapid departure from their married home after the revelation; the poem seems then to narrate a lamp-scene-type discovery, not of her lover, but of herself in a mirror.

In the following scene we see the sisters together at a drive-in movie, apparently classically themed,[66] where Psyche’s attention fastens on the neighbouring vehicle and imagines the couple there as Cupid/Eros and Psyche:

> In the next car young Eros and his sweetheart sit
> fire and saltwater still from their embrace

The next day we see Psyche gathering parsnips for the family dinner; like the Psyche of C&P, she is an obedient fulfiller of tasks set her by more authoritative females.[67] At dinner her sisters ask her repeatedly to turn on the light—‘Light the lamp’, ‘Sister the lamp’, ‘Light your lamp Psyche dear’—evoking C&P again in a context where all Psyche has to do is put on the electric light—‘My hand is on the switch.’ Psyche’s thoughts of escape seem to have diminished, and the end of the poem finds her scrutinizing her love letters with a further allusion to the lamp scene:

> I have received from whom I do not know
> These letters. Show me, light, if they make sense.

Merrill’s main interests in C&P are the lamp scene, which is reworked in a number of ways here (and in his earlier poem), and the imaginings and

fantasies of the lonely and love-starved Psyche, who here does not achieve her glorious union with Eros/Cupid but seems set to remain single and living with her sisters. His interest in this female character is consistent with his other work and personal concerns in this period and with his interest in Jungian psychology with its stress on the projection of the *anima*/soul (psyche).[68]

6. A. S. Byatt, *Possession* (1990) and *Morpho Eugenia* (1992)

Possession by A. S. Byatt (1936–2023) brings a series of allusions to the story of C&P back to the form of prose fiction. This highly literary, complex, and prize-winning novel[69] tells the story of two modern literary researchers who uncover a secret love affair between two Victorian poets, Randolph Henry Ash, who has features of Browning and Tennyson, and Christabel LaMotte, who has more than a passing resemblance to Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. A key item in the novel is the discovery and extensive quotation of the correspondence between the two poets. In one letter LaMotte says that she is working on a series of poems on the subject of Psyche ‘in modern form—that poor doubting Girl—who took Heavenly Love for a Serpent’,[70] and encloses two of them. The first, entitled ‘Metamorphosis’, focuses on the life cycle of the butterfly, clearly an allusion to the Greek meaning of Psyche’s name, but the second, entitled ‘Psyche’, clearly draws on Apuleius’ text in evoking the help given by the ants to Psyche in completing Venus’ first task of grain-sorting (*Met*. 6.10):

> In Ancient Tales—the Creatures—helpful were
> To taxed and fearful Humans in despair.
> The World was One for those Men, which now is
> A dissonant congeries.[71]
> The Nation of the Spinster Ants
> Their help to sorrowing *Psyche* brought
> Whom cruel *Venus* set to sort
> The mingled grains and seeds of plants.

The poem goes on from this opening with its clear appeal to the classical narrative (‘Ancient Tales’) to characterize the ants as helpful females, perhaps reflecting their feminine gender in Latin,[72] and suggests that the

help they give to Psyche was not ordered by her lover Cupid but was their own free decision (in the original it is suggested that the ants give aid in respectful homage to Cupid's power); they are a model of female independence from male domination, a reflection of the feminist strain in the novel. Byatt was a university lecturer in English literature for many years, and the series of poems on Psyche by a female writer is likely to reflect that by Elizabeth Barrett Browning (see Chapter 4).

These poems are not the only supposed literary productions of Christabel LaMotte that connect her with C&P. Earlier in the novel (ch. 4), the story 'The Glass Coffin' is cited in full (pp. 58–67) from her *Tales for Innocents*, a Grimm-like collection of fairy tales, in which the West Wind carries the protagonist (a tailor) from one world to another, recalling Psyche's mode of transport to Cupid's palace (*Met.* 4.35); this female-authored fairy story with C&P links perhaps recalls the tradition of the Beauty and the Beast tales of Villeneuve and Beaumont in eighteenth-century France (see Chapter 2). In particular, LaMotte's incomplete long poem 'The Fairy Melusine', the opening of which is cited at length (ch.16), contains a summary of C&P up to the point of Cupid's departure:

> When heavenly Eros lay at Psyche's side,
> Her envious sisters said, the light of day
> Would show a monstrous serpent was her Lord.
> When she transgressed and held the trembling flame
> Over the bed, the drops of wax fell fast
> On love in perfect human form, who rose
> In burning anger from his place and fled.

Again, the story is given a feminist slant—the next lines read: 'But let the Power take a female form | And 'tis the Power is punished.' It is also moulded for its context in its emphasis on Cupid's possible serpentine nature and perfect beauty, since Melusine herself combines the form of a beautiful woman with that of a snake, appearing as 'half sable serpent, half a mourning Queen' at the death of her descendants according to the proem of LaMotte's poem.[73]

Melusine, with all her tragic complexity and unhappy destiny, is a figure plainly parallel to LaMotte herself throughout the novel,[74] and LaMotte's poem is shown to allude to its author's romance with Ash, which the book uncovers (pp. 265–7, ch. 14). This affair matches that of Cupid and Psyche in a number of respects: it would be a disaster if the identity of the married

male lover Ash were known, and the affair ends in a separation, a flight by a pregnant LaMotte to cousins in Brittany, and the birth of her child (ch. 19); the French cousins parallel figures like Pan who are kind to the fugitive Psyche (*Met.* 5.25), and perhaps even recall the country people who give sanctuary to Psyche in La Fontaine's French version (see Chapter 2). For the learned Byatt, the location of Brittany may even be a punning allusion to the surrealist writer André Breton, who himself wrote a prominent version of the Melusine story.[75]

Byatt is clearly aware of the medieval French *Roman de Mélusine* by Jean d'Arras, a contemporary of Chaucer, which the novel presents as a source for LaMotte's poem (p. 245, ch. 13). Jean's story itself shows some clear parallels to C&P, as scholars have noted;[76] in his version, the immortal Mélusine, appearing as a woman, makes her mortal husband promise not to see her on Saturday nights, when she changes into her original form of a human–serpent hybrid. This taboo is eventually broken after the birth of ten children, through the intervention of the husband's jealous brother, which leads ultimately to a separation between the two. The union of mortal and immortal, the prohibition and the promise, the intervention of a malicious relative and the consequent sundering of the marriage as a combined plot point irresistibly to C&P, with the difference of an unhappy ending.[77] This analogy between LaMotte, Melusine, and both Cupid and Psyche is thus clearly established in the literary tradition on which Byatt draws.

Byatt's interest in the story pattern of C&P is maintained in *Morpho Eugenia*, her novella of 1992, set in the same Victorian period. The protagonist William Adamson is an entomologist and insect-collector of humble origins, and the Morpho Eugenia of the title is a butterfly named by Adamson's aristocratic employer the Revd Sir Harald Alabaster after his own daughter Eugenia. Adamson falls in love with the beautiful Eugenia, who surprisingly agrees to marry him despite their difference in social class; she then spends little time with him. Eventually after several years and a number of children Adamson discovers her secret by catching her *in flagrante* in their marital bedroom: she is engaged in a long-standing incestuous relationship with her brother. The two part for ever, and Adamson goes off on a voyage to South America with the family's governess Matty Crompton, who shares his entomological interests.

The influence of the Melusine legend is clear here in the higher-status wife's shocking secret, which once revealed separates the spouses for ever;

but this, like the story of Christabel LaMotte in *Possession*, is also a tragic version of the scenario of C&P. The unequal marriage based on an unrevealed secret, its lack of companionship, and the final revelation in the bedroom look to Apuleius: Eugenia is a form of Cupid. The luxurious country house where they all reside looks like a version of Cupid's isolated palace, and its servants are described as 'invisible people', recalling Cupid's actually unseen magical staff (*Met.* 5.2–3).[78] But Eugenia has several links with Psyche as well as with Cupid: she is beautiful, has two sisters, and the naming of a butterfly after her and a scene in which she welcomes a gift of butterflies (pp. 58-60) clearly play on the fact that Psyche means 'butterfly' in Greek, something alluded to by Byatt in *Possession* (see above).

These links with C&P are confirmed by an explicit retelling of Apuleius' story, which is presented to the reader within the novella's main plot (pp. 49–51), providing a tale to compare with the plot's own overall shape.[79] Adamson starts an ant colony for his wife's much younger sisters, and this stimulates their governess, Miss Mead, to paraphrase the tale of Cupid and Psyche as a didactic fairy tale; her gender and servant status surely reflect the anonymous robbers' housekeeper who narrates the original story in Apuleius (*Met.* 4.27). Here is its beginning:

> Ants, my dears, have been seen as human helpers since the remotest antiquity.[80] The story of the unfortunate Princess Psyche illustrates this. She was so beautiful and so beloved of all who saw her, that the goddess of Beauty, Venus, grew jealous of her, and told her son Cupid to punish the beautiful girl. The King, her father, was told that he had offended the gods, and must be punished by the wedding of his lovely daughter to a terrible flying serpent. He must dress her as a bride and carry her to the top of a terrible crag to await her monstrous bridegroom.

The two-page paraphrase is cut off at the point where the ants aid Psyche, the very element in C&P that is emphasized in the poem 'Psyche' in *Possession* (see above).[81] As a version of the story narrated by a character within the larger plot of the novel, Miss Mead's retelling may recall the character Apuleius' own narration of C&P in a famous Victorian text, Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* (see Chapter 6)—a further reception that well suits one of the most learned contemporary English novelists.[82]

By the end of the novella, the main analogy of its plot with C&P is clear, and the ants form a key linking element. Like Psyche,[83] Adamson is a socially inferior spouse in trouble whose successful progress is aided by

ants: his final departure is financed by his successful treatise on natural history, in which ants feature prominently (p. 168).[84]

Overall, Byatt, is clearly interested in C&P and aware both of the original tale as part of an ancient novel and of its reception history. She is especially focused on its sympathetic female protagonist Psyche, who provides a model for the heroine of *Possession* and elements of both the male and female partners in the principal couple of *Morpho Eugenia*.

7. Cupid and Psyche and Female Poets

The story of Psyche has continued (understandably) to appeal especially to women writers in verse as well as prose in the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries; recent research has studied with fruitful effects the use of the figure of Psyche in the work of Silvia Plath, especially in her verse play *Three Women: A Monologue for Three Voices*,[85] and in five distinguished female poets from the twentieth century (H.D., Mina Loy, Eavan Boland, Aimee Nezhukumatathil, and Louise Glück).[86] There have been a number of poems and short stories on Psyche by further women writers;[87] among these are Kathleen Raine and A. E. Stallings, whose poems will be considered in more detail in this section.

Kathleen Raine, ‘The Marriage of Psyche’ and ‘Story’s End’

The poet and literary scholar Kathleen Raine (1908–2003) wrote two poems on Psyche more than three decades apart. The first poem, ‘The Marriage of Psyche’ (1952), presents a rapturous monologue in the voice of Psyche, which, in its first section (‘The House’), imagines Cupid’s palace not as a building but as a beautiful external landscape:

> In my love’s house
> There are hills and pastures carpeted with flowers,
> His roof is the blue sky, his lamp the evening star…

The poem follows C&P in narrating Psyche’s journey and union, with the palace staff modified into parts of the landscape:

> In sleep I was borne here
> And waking found rivers and waves my servants…
> All this he has given me, whose face I have never seen,
> But into whose all-enfolding arms I sink in sleep.

The second section (‘The Ring’) presents the marriage as a mystical cosmic union, and has little contact with the original except for a general idea of Psyche’s elevation to a transcendent status, which reflects her final apotheosis in Apuleius:

> He has married me with a ring, a ring of bright water,
> Whose ripples travel from the heart of the sea…
> He has married me with the orbit of the moon
> And with the boundless circle of the stars…
> Transcendent touch of love summons my world to being…

The poem dates from the time of Raine’s unrequited passion for the writer and naturalist Gavin Maxwell, whose celebrated 1960 wildlife narrative *Ring of Bright Water* took its title from this poem.[88]

The second poem, ‘Story’s End’ (1987), is a kind of sequel to the first. Here we find the poet herself wishing to narrate the conclusion to the love story of which she presented the early stages in ‘The Marriage of Psyche’; but this is a conclusion far from the happy ending of the original.[89] The exacting nature of the journey of the pregnant wandering Psyche is emphasized (‘Psyche on bruised feet walking the hard ways’); more strikingly, she travels on for years and has forgotten the purpose of her journey and the identity of her lover (‘She who once loved remembers only that once she loved’). In the last line the poet shares this uncertainty, matching Psyche’s loss of focus with her own self-questioning as author: ‘Is it I who wrote this?’ The erotic rapture of the younger Raine, expressed in the earlier poem, might also have seemed incredible to her older, wearier, and less romantic self, the two linked by the figure of Psyche as lover.

A.E. Stallings, ‘Three Poems to Psyche’ (2012)

The US poet, translator, and classical scholar A. E. Stallings (1968–)[90] includes in her 2012 classicizing collection *Olives*[91] a short sequence entitled ‘Three Poems for Psyche’. This is introduced by a poetic preface

‘Advice to Psyche’, which cites the Latin of Apuleius’ lamp scene as its epigraph (*Met*. 5.23: *hem audax et temeraria lucerna*) and offers the poet’s sisterly advice to resist the devious suggestions of Psyche’s actual ‘ugly sisters’ to explore Cupid’s identity,[92] urging her to ‘be blind, uncurious’, though the poet implies that she cannot in fact change the famous story.

All three poems present imagined speeches for actual characters in C&P. The first, ‘The Eldest Sister to Psyche’, picks the joint and insincere warning of both her visiting sisters to Psyche at *Met.* 5.17–18 that Cupid is a monster, and neatly inverts their private suspicion that her child may be divine (*Met*. 5.16) into the idea that it may be a monster too:

> What of the fetus that you carry,
> With scales and fangs and leathern wings
> Perhaps?

The second poem, ‘The Boatman to Psyche, on the River Styx’, moves ahead in the narrative to Psyche’s katabasis. This expands the briefest of accounts by Apuleius of her crossing of the Styx (*Met*. 6.20) in Charon’s ferry into a dramatic scene where the boatman (not named as Charon but possessed, as we shall see, of deity-style knowledge) addresses Psyche. Again, the poem has an epigraph drawn from C&P, this time a translation of Venus’ instructions to descend to the Underworld (*Met*. 6.16: ‘But I have one last errand for you, my poppet’).[93] The boatman realizes both that Psyche is pregnant and that she is destined to accomplish her mission:

> But you are not the shadow of a doubt,
> You are the thing itself. Your shiny penny
> Will pay your passage, though it should be double.
> You are two, if you are any—

He is fully aware of the nature of that mission:

> So you’re on an errand to the Queen
> To borrow her beauty like a pot of make-up.
> If she gives you a wooden box
> Yea big – scarcely big enough for an infant –
> Don’t open it…

Like the poet in ‘Advice to Psyche’, the boatman offers advice not to act with calamitous curiosity, which must be ignored if the plot is to run its course.

The mention of Proserpina/Persephone (‘the Queen’ of the Underworld) provides a neat transition to the third poem, ‘Persephone to Psyche’. Here the poet imagines a speech of Persephone to Psyche not present in the original,[94] where we are simply told that the queen offers Psyche a sumptuous meal with unspecified kind words, an offer that is refused following the previous instructions of the speaking tower to Psyche (*Met.* 6.19, 6.20). Stallings presents Persephone as a depressed dipsomaniac who is thoroughly disenchanted with the Underworld and offers Psyche a suitably local drink rather than food.[95]

> Come sit with me here at the bar.
> Another Lethe for the bride.

Like the boatman, Persephone divines her guest’s pregnancy, lamenting her own tragic childlessness, and with a kind of divine prescience summarizes the plot of C&P to Psyche:

> I heard an old wives’ tale above
> When I was a girl with a girl’s treasure.
> The story went, Soul married Love
> And they conceived, and called her Pleasure.

Here the classicist Stallings neatly alludes both to the end of C&P in the original, stressing the marriage and subsequent birth (*Met.* 6.24: *Sic rite Psyche convenit in manum Cupidinis et nascitur illis maturo partu filia, quam Voluptatem nominamus*) and to the introduction to it by its narrator the anonymous old woman (*Met.* 4.27: *Sed ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo*). This cycle is a personal and feminist take on the story, highlighting woman-to-woman conversation with Psyche, whether the sympathy of the poet, the deception of the sister, or the depressed confidences of Persephone, and emphasizing Psyche’s pregnancy throughout.

8. Peter Oswald, *The Golden Ass* (2002)

The poet and playwright Peter Oswald was writer in residence at Shakespeare’s Globe Theatre in London from its opening in 1997 to 2002,[96] and in 2002 he wrote for it an adaptation of Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*

entitled *The Golden Ass, or The Curious Man*;[97] its original much-admired production was directed by Tim Carroll and starred Mark Rylance as Lucius.[98] In the middle of the play, which is prosimetric in form, there is a version of C&P. In the original production this presented Cupid and Psyche in the form of elaborate Japanese-style Bunraku puppets and Venus as a gloved hand with a cigarette holder; the main verse speeches of the couple were sung by opera singers, with music composed by Claire Van Kampen, while the old woman narrator and other lesser characters spoke in prose (the goddess Venus spoke in verse). This musical and marionette configuration sets the episode apart from the rest of the play, neatly matching the way in which C&P presents a literary texture that is richer and more complex than the rest of the novel.[99]

In contrast with many other versions (e.g. that of MacNeice, above), the humble aged female who tells the tale is given considerable prominence, forming the key linking figure for the episode: she introduces the story with a flourish, acts as continuity narrator throughout, and follows it up with a moral for the primary narratee Charite that is absent in the original:

> So you see, everything will be alright my pretty, why, nothing can stand in the way of true love. If your love is true, you will be saved; the very dust of the ground will come to your aid, nails and screws will cry out in their toolboxes, because when it comes to love, we are no different from the gods and goddesses, we are everlasting…[100]

This passage is interestingly close to recent criticism of the novel, which had drawn out the narrative function of C&P within the *Metamorphoses.*[101]

Oswald's adaptation of C&P (as of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole) necessarily radically compresses the original given the shortened theatrical time frame, but preserves the fundamental sequence of events (he here takes fewer liberties than with the other sections of Apuleius' text). There are some interesting modifications of the original: the measured verse response of the Didyman oracle of Apollo (*Met*. 4.32–3; see above on MacNeice for the text) is replaced by a live prophecy from the ecstatic Pythia of Delphi, much more effective dramatically and invoking prophetesses from Greek drama, such as the Pythia herself (in more sombre mode) at Delphi at the start of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* or the ecstatic Cassandra predicting disaster in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.[102]

PYTHIA Black! Black! Dress her in black! Let he be dressed in pitch black black! Up, up, take her up, up, put her up on the earth's tooth! A husband

for Psyche! A husband for Psyche! He is the rage of the earth, he is the fire of the sky! Sun and moon be slaves to him, God and hell be in his hand! No man, not a man! Dress her in black for her wedding death! A husband for Psyche![103]

The dramatic tone here is balanced by broad rhyming comedy in the presentation of Psyche's sisters:

FIRST SISTER Tell us about your lovely husband!
SECOND SISTER What does he look like?
PSYCHE Old but kind.
I love him mostly for his mind.
FIRST SISTER Is it a big one?
PSYCHE Shall we have some tea?
FIRST SISTER Can you believe the cutlery?[104]

The end of the episode presents two speeches that constitute additional commentary on the original. The first is in the mouth of Jupiter, as he approves Psyche's marriage and apotheosis:[105]

> Psyche arise! The world has spoken
> In favour of this passion, broken
> By Venus only briefly. Now
> To Psyche let all heaven bow,
> See what this girl has struggled through;
> By tears she made the whole world new,
> When everything on earth rose up
> Against the death of love! The cup
> Of victory is hers, our prize—
> In peace at last the boy's bow lies!
> Heaven attend! It is my judgement,
> That for an everlasting moment,
> Psyche shall be immortal Cupid's wife,
> And love shall be their life!

Psyche herself also presents her thoughts on her own story after the end of the original and the birth of her daughter, here called Joy[106] rather than Pleasure (*Voluptas*):

> When I began to love
> I was a mile behind my life,

Although I was a happy wife,
I did not know what of:
I was a cupboard full of light,
All locked away and out of sight,
I lost what I had not yet had,
Then I began to love like mad.
My life had flown above.
But by this latest kiss
At last I know it was like this
When I began to love.[107]

These summarizing celebrations of the power of love to overcome tribulations and bring lasting happiness are consistent with Oswald's intention for *The Golden Ass* as a whole to be 'a journey from lust to love'.[108] Overall, his version of C&P combines dramatic impact and entertaining humour with an accurate perception of some of the original's key literary qualities and a recognition of the story's allegorical form; in both these elements it is very much in tune with the Apuleian scholarship of the time.

9. Psyche in Modern Opera

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have been fertile in adaptations of C&P for the theatrical and operatic stage,[109] many by female creators: Psyche's status as one of the few classical female protagonists has been influential here in a more feminist age. This is explicitly visible in the 2019 revival at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music of the female Dutch–Australian composer Meta Overman's 1955 *Psyche: An Opera in Three Acts*, newly orchestrated from its original piano score by the female pianist and musicologist Jeannell Carrigan.[110] The publicity for the production presents it as a specifically feminist enterprise, confronting the male domination of the history of opera composition.[111] Its English libretto is drawn, not from Apuleius' original, but from Louis Couperus's version in his novel *Psyche*, a classic of Dutch literature discussed in Chapter 6, where we saw that it was a free adaptation of C&P in which strong female characters are especially prominent.

The best-known opera on C&P in the twentieth century, and the only one performed in a national opera house and commercially recorded, is not in English, but is worth notice here for its relative prominence. *Eros and Psyche* (Op. 40, 1917) by Ludomir Różycki (1883–1953), with a libretto adapted from the play of the same name by Jerzy Żuławski (1874–1915), was much performed between the two world wars in Poland, and was revived for a centenary performance in 2017 at the Polish National Opera in Wroclaw.[112] Różycki was a member, along with Karel Szymanowski, of the 'Young Poland' nationalist group of composers, and this attractive piece has the lushness of his contemporary Richard Strauss.[113] Żuławski's libretto is a loose adaptation of the story on a grand historical scale: 'The opera's heroine, Psyche, traverses the history from the mythical Arcadia through the Imperial Rome to the Mediaeval Europe and French Revolution all the way to the cusp of the twentieth century, in search of the elusive goal of happiness.'[114]

There is also an Apuleian opera that begins as an idea in a novel and ends as an actual performance forty years later. The Canadian writer Robertson Davies (1913–95) includes in his 1958 novel *A Mixture of Frailties* the production and European touring of an opera with balletic elements by the English composer Giles Revelstoke, entitled *The Golden Asse* and based on the *Metamorphoses* with some emphasis on Cupid and Psyche.[115] Davies was himself an enthusiast for the *Metamorphoses*, which he later described as 'a very great book from the pagan past' and compared to Mozart's *The Magic Flute* (note the operatic analogy).[116] By the time of his death in 1995 he had written a real opera libretto, *The Golden Ass*, eventually produced with music by Randolph Peters in Toronto in 1999.[117] This adapts the story of Lucius within the framework of a narrating storyteller, focusing particularly on the love of Lucius and Photis; the episode of C&P is presented fairly briefly, using both the overall narrator and a further female narrator[118] (as in the original) and via a ballet performance (as in Davies's earlier fictional version), and stresses the tale's moral of fatal curiosity.[119]

The feminist strand in contemporary operas connected with C&P noted above is continued in Marina Warner's libretto for John Woolrich's fairy-tale opera *In the House of Crossed Desires* (1996).[120] Warner's plot appropriates a number of elements from the *Metamorphoses* as a whole as

well as drawing on various other literary traditions.[121] It presents us with a heroine Corallina, parallel to Psyche, who manages to escape forced marriage to her villainous guardian Cosmo, a male version of the oppressive Venus of C&P, and achieve union with her beloved Luca, who combines the figures of Lucius and Cupid.[122] This matches on the creative front Warner's simultaneous scholarly interest in the feminine and feminist origin of the fairy tale in her *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers* (1994).[123]

10. Conclusion

The sheer range of formats in modern English-speaking literary receptions of C&P is clear from the samples discussed in this chapter. Women writers play a major role here, appropriately for a rare classical story with a successful female protagonist and for a feminist age. Previous centuries of reception had made it clear that C&P could be adapted into dramas and long poems, and that later prose fictions could always look back to one of their Roman originals; but the modern era has added a number of artistic forms that considerably expand the creative possibilities and show how this strong and eternally appealing story of love's transient tribulations and final triumph can be presented in an impressive spectrum of frameworks.

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[1] A number of the receptions mentioned here are treated in detail in essays in May and Harrison (2020), recorded in the footnotes that follow.

[2] See Müller (2020: 405–9).

[3] For further links between cinema and C&P, see Elsom (1989), Accardo (2002), James (2020), Siegel (2020), and Marciniak (2021a).

[4] See Müller-Reineke (2009) and especially Müller (2020: 398–403).

[5] e.g. Edith Wharton, in her 1913 novel *The Reef*, the early short story 'The Lamp of Psyche' (1895), and the late novel *The Gods Arrive* (1932)—see Jones (1992) and Wentzel (2013). The influence of C&P has also been detected in Eudora Welty's 1942 novella *The Robber Bridegroom* (see Gaisser 2020), William Faulkner's novels *Absalom, Absalom!* (1936: cf. Roynon 2021: 96–8)

and *The Reivers* (1962: see Provencal 2020a, b), and Doris Lessing's 1980 science-fiction novel *The Marriages between Zones Three, Four and Five* (Colakis 1992).

[6] Wrigley and Harrison (2013) includes the first edition of MacNeice's play, cited here; this section draws on the annotations there and on the brief analysis in Harrison (2011b).

[7] See Wrigley and Harrison (2013: 1–30).

[8] See his 1946 essay on the work, most easily available in MacNeice (1987).

[9] A draft is held in the MacNeice papers at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

[10] See MacNeice (1992: 396) (first published MacNeice 1944).

[11] 'Spieglein Spieglein an der Wand, | Wer ist die Schönste im ganzen Land?'

[12] Printed in Wrigley and Harrison (2013: 97–140).

[13] See Wrigley and Harrison (2013: 97–8). All references to MacNeice's radio play are to this edition.

[14] See Zimmerman and van Mal-Maeder (1998).

[15] The closing words closely render those of C&P's Latin *quam Voluptatem nominamus*.

[16] For the high-style language of this passage, see Harrison (2005).

[17] Picking up the performance by a Paniscus (mini-Pan) on the pipe at the wedding of Cupid and Psyche in the original (*Met.* 6.24).

[18] As in the nineteenth-century versions of Tighe, Morris, and Bridges (see Chapters 4 and 5) and in Warner's *Perennia* (see below).

[19] There are also echoes here of door scenes in Greek and Roman New Comedy: for these, see Brown (1995).

[20] See Ranger (2020).

[21] See May 2006.

[22] See the essays in Zimmerman et al. (1998).

[23] See Edwards (2010: 59) for details.

[24] Schakel (2010: 281). Masque: King (2001: 104).

[25] See King (2001: 103–5, for introduction, and 269–71 for the text); P. 103 also discusses Lewis's early intentions in 1922 and 1923.

[26] King (2001: 104, 269).

[27] Too little is available of the poem to compare Caspian's character to the male hero of Lewis's Narnia books of the same name (Prince then King Caspian of Narnia).

[28] Much research on *TWHF* (especially in the US) focuses on the portrait of Christianity in the novel. Schuler (2015), for example, stresses the pagan and non-Christian nature of the gods; Stanifer (2010) compares the story with Stephenie Meyer's Twilight Series (itself not without Apuleian intertext, see James 2020) and the story of the Beauty and the Beast, with a Christian overlay.

[29] Lewis's 'Once upon a time in a certain land there lived a king and a queen who had three daughters…' translates Apuleius' *Erant in quadam civitate rex et regina. hi tres numero filias* (*Met.* 4.28.1) but does not represent the king's two different queens, both dead, and the status of Psyche as half-sister to Redival and Orual.

[30] Lewis's world of the dead here has been seen as echoing that of Psyche's visit to the Underworld (*Met*. 6.17–20): see Schakel (2010) and Folch (2017: 165).

[31] Myers (2004: 2).

[32] Myers (2004) makes a case for the latter.

[33] See Folch (2017) on the country's 'brutish' nature.

[34] See Folch (2017: 261) and Drews (2020) on this misleading aspect.

[35] See Drews (2020).

[36] Winkle (2017) points out the use of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole in Lewis's Chronicles of Narnia novel *Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (1952)—e.g. Eustace Scrubb's metamorphosis echoes Lucius' as an apt punishment for misbehaviour, when Eustace turns into a dragon for his greed, and Aslan becomes his Isis-like saviour. Both novels are suffused with Platonic imagery, and Winkle provides evidence from Lewis's letters for his knowledge of Apuleius' novel as a whole.

[37] Storey (2007).

[38] The only change Lewis himself mentions in his American foreword to the novel (Lewis 1957); see, e.g., Folch (2017: 162).

[39] So Storey (2007: 14–15).

[40] Drews (2020: 327–8) notes briefly how *TWHF* reflects the *Metamorphoses*, to which we add only a few points here, as well as a possible autobiographical aspect.

[41] See Myers (2004: 24) for a discussion of the evidence. Edwards (2010: 67–8) sees Psyche as the soul and Orual as the imperfect body.

[42] Warner (1962), republished in his *Early Poems* (1964) and *Collected Poems 1960–1984* (1985). For a detailed analysis that usefully assesses the poem within the background of the English reception of C&P, see Pursglove (1988).

[43] Each stanza has a six-stress final line after seven five-stress lines. There is also an intercalated extended song of Perennia in a different stanzaic metre in stanza LXVII, which then ends with a second stanza of the usual metre—see below.

[44] For Warner's own account of his work with Lewis in the years 1959–61, see Hooper (1996: 92–4).

[45] The location of the picnic in Jane Austen's *Emma* (ch. 43), another work with a female protagonist who suffers some (mild) tribulation but ends up with a happy marriage.

[46] See, e.g., Curtius (1953: 183–202).

[47] See the fuller discussion in Chapter 5.

[48] This scenario may also recall *Alice in Wonderland*, in ch. 2 of which ('The Pool of Tears') the now giant Alice creates a large pool by crying in despair.

[49] This is not the only connection of Collodi's tale with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: in both stories the protagonist is metamorphosed into an ass as a symbol of his moral mistakes.

[50] This is emphasized by the accompanying woodcut engraving by Raymond Lister (Warner 1962: 12), which shows a naked Psyche partly in the water.

[51] So Pursglove (1988: 51).

[52] He may have drawn on *Daphnis and Chloe* as a result of reading the recent Penguin translation (1956) by Paul Turner, a friend and colleague of Warner in the English faculty at Cambridge in 1962 (and a friend and colleague at Oxford from 1965).

[53] This again recalls a Disney animated film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves* (1937), echoing the scene where Snow White, having run away into the forest, falls asleep and wakes surrounded by

friendly birds and animals, to whom she sings ‘With a Smile and a Song’. It is interesting that Louis MacNeice’s version of C&P also alludes to this Disney film (see above); like MacNeice, Warner sees the affinities between Psyche/Perennia and Snow White (youthful female exiles who wander into the wilds, undergo labours, receive the help of nature, and eventually achieve the highest of marriages).

54 The original Latin name simply refers to a connection with the salt (*sal*) sea in context, though *salax* in the sense of our ‘salacious’ is already present in Latin.

55 The symbolic chariot of Eros that Salacia dreams of (stanza XXXVIII) plainly echoes the chariot-allegory of Plato, *Phaedrus* 246a–254e, a dialogue famously echoed in C&P (see Harrison 2000: 256a).

56 Another echo of *Daphnis and Chloe*, where Daphnis picks a perilously located apple for Chloe (Longus 3.34).

57 Cf. stanza LIV ‘Ordering now the fire should be twice filled | with coals and branches till the cave was grilled | in heat unbearable’ with Daniel 3:19 ‘[the king] commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated’.

58 See also earlier Beaumont (1648).

59 The name Perennia is surely a play on Goethe’s ‘Ewig-Weibliche’; there are also possible parallels with Ovid’s Anna Perenna, another mortal who becomes a deity symbolizing perpetuity *(Fasti* 3. 653–4).

60 For Warner’s interest in Goethe, see his play ‘Goethe’s Weimar’, which itself ends with a version of a Goethe lyric (Warner 1997: 112, 115–16). For Goethe’s own interest in C&P, see Chapter 3.

61 For his colourful life, see Hammer (2015). He studied Latin at school and college (Amherst), though he later describes his knowledge of the language as ‘vestigial’ (Merrill 2006: 31).

62 Merrill’s poems here are cited from Merrill (2001).

63 See the helpful analyses of the poem in Yesner (1987: 137–55), Humphries (1988: 177–82) and Materer (2000: 37–40).

64 Perhaps matching Merrill’s revival of a classical story here, from a Latin text stressed as Greek in origin by its author (*Met.* 1.1); cf. Yenser (1987: 140).

65 The apricot in the dark might recall the rich food of the Underworld declined by Psyche at *Met*. 6.19–20 (it would keep her there like Proserpina, just as food and a comfortable life seem to keep Merrill’s Psyche with her sisters).

66 The film seems to be set in the Roman Empire (Huns are mentioned) and to star Venus or a Venus-like heroine (‘The love goddess’) rising from a bath and a Mars-type warrior (‘the hero’s breastplate’), who kiss. This seems to combine scenarios from *Cleopatra* (1963) and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964).

67 This is also true of her task of cleaning the glass panes of the poem’s eponymous cupola in the family house—see Materer (2007: 224).

68 See further Materer (2007: 223–5).

69 Booker Prize for Fiction 1990.

70 Byatt (1990: 161, ch. 12).

71 The Latin word *congerie*s is used by Apuleius in his account of the ants’ help for Psyche (*Met.* 6.2).

72 *Formica* or *formicula*.

[73] A mixture of forms seen in some Romantic poems that are linked with C&P (e.g. ‘Lamia’, ‘Rhododaphne’); see Chapter 4.

[74] See Alban (2003).

[75] See Solinas (2013). For Byatt’s knowledge of Breton, see a 2011 interview https://www.julie-phillips.com/wp/?p=436.

[76] See Solinas (2013).

[77] The same modification occurs in Wagner’s *Lohengrin* (see Chapter 3).

[78] For these two points, see Hansson (1999: 457, 459).

[79] Both features of the role of C&P in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, a feature picked up in some Romantic novels which use C&P—see Chapter 4.

[80] This sentence clearly recalls the phrase ‘in Ancient Tales’ in LaMotte’s poem ‘Psyche’ in *Possession* (see above).

[81] The technique of using a fairy tale with allusion to Apuleius’ helpful ants is repeated in Matty Crompton’s ‘Things Are not what they Seem’, where the hero Seth (a parallel to William) is aided by an ant (noted by Fletcher 2019: 98).

[82] For her use of Vergil, see Cox (2011: 135–51).

[83] This echoes Apuleius’ original, where the male Lucius parallels the female Psyche—see Chapter 1.

[84] Part of its second chapter on ant communities is inserted into the novella at pp. 126–32.

[85] See Ranger (2020).

[86] See McNeel and Sabnis (2021).

[87] A list in McNeel and Sabnis (2022: 309 n. 4) includes Beth Allen, ‘Psyche’ (1939); Joyce Carol Oates, ‘Cupid and Psyche’ (1969); Alicia Ostriker, ‘Message from the Sleeper at Hell’s Mouth’ (1982); Sandra Gilbert, ‘Psyche’ (1984); Pamela Stewart, ‘Psyche’ (1985); Debora Greger, ‘Psyche and Eros in Florida’ (1994); Sandy Solomon, ‘Psyche’ (1996); and Marly Youmans, ‘The Throne of Psyche’ (2011).

[88] The reference in the poem to Cupid’s ‘all-enfolding arms’ may recall an occasion on which the couple slept chastely together (Maxwell was homosexual). See further Fletcher (2007).

[89] The poem was analysed in detail (with full text) by the poet Carol Rumens in the *Guardian*, 5 August 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/aug/05/poem-of-the-week-storys-end-by-kathleen-raine. Editions of collected poems: Raine 1968b and 2000.

[90] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A._E._Stallings.

[91] Stallings (2012).

[92] This phrase shows that Stallings is aware of the links of the Psyche story with that of Cinderella: see Chapter 2.

[93] This seems to be her own translation of the Latin original.

[94] As had William Morris—see Chapter 5.

[95] Here perhaps recalling the wine-soaked Venus of *Met*. 6.11.

[96] For his subsequent career, see https://peteroswald.net/.

[97] Published as Oswald (2002), cited here; the author’s latest version (abbreviated by summary) is available at https://peteroswald.net/new-page-77.

[98] See, e.g., the review at https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/features/ass-you-like-it-174162.html and the brief account in James (2014: 127–9).

[99] See, e.g., Zimmerman et al. (1998).

[100] Oswald (2002: 67).

[101] Cf., e.g., Zimmerman et al. (2004).

[102] For Oswald and Greek tragedy, note his adaptation of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* for the Battersea Arts Centre in 1998—for details, see http://www.bacarchive.org.uk/items/show/5418.

[103] Oswald (2002: 56-57).

[104] Oswald (2002: 59).

[105] Oswald (2002: 66).

[106] This looks like a reference to William Blake's 'Infant Joy' from *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789). For Blake and C&P, see Chapter 3.

[107] Oswald (2002: 67).

[108] See his comments at https://peteroswald.net/new-page-77.

[109] For extensive surveys, see Müller-Reineke 2009 and Müller 2020, to which I am much indebted in this section. For further material on modern performance versions outside of opera, see our Epilogue.

[110] A recording of the single performance is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dy7Guh_d65E.

[111] https://www.limelightmagazine.com.au/news/meta-overmans-opera-psyche-revived/.

[112] https://operavision.eu/en/library/performances/operas/eros-psyche.

[113] A pre-digital recording was made in 1978 at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw on the Polskie Nagrania—Muza label (ASIN: B0009XEE7I).

[114] Summary from https://polishmusic.usc.edu/newsletter/2017/oct-2017/rozyckis-eros-psyche-warsaw/.

[115] See Davies (1988: 670, 720–1, 723–4, 729).

[116] Davies (1981: 17). *The Magic Flute* in fact may itself draw on Apuleius: see Chapter 3.

[117] Peters and Davies (1999).

[118] Antiope, presented as the leader of the bandits, an interesting inversion of the original anonymous old woman who is their servant.

[119] For the libretto, see Davies (1999), and, for a full account of the opera and its place in Davies's career, see Fletcher (2021). Another recent North American operatic version was the 1983 *Eros and Psyche* of Conrad Cummings in neo-Handelian style to a modern prose libretto performed at Oberlin College for its 150th anniversary (Psyche's aria can be heard at https://soundcloud.com/conradcummings).

[120] For the libretto, see Warner and Woolrich (1996), and, for an interesting discussion of the opera, see Benson (2010).

[121] See the author's own discussion in Warner (2004a).

[122] The Psyche link is confirmed by the task Cosmo sets Corallina of sorting out a pile of briars, thistles, and bean (Warner and Woolrich 1996: 19–21), plainly parallel to Psyche's first labour for Venus (*Met.* 6.10).

[123] Cited in our discussion of the development of the Beauty and the Beast in eighteenth-century France in Chapter 2.

8

Epilogue

As stressed in our Chapter 1, in this volume we have chosen to concentrate on literary receptions of Apuleius' tale of Cupid and Psyche since 1650, and to present only certain highlights from a vast amount of material. Here we would like to draw together a few general features from the range of material we have included, and to point to some current and ongoing streams of wider reception that show that C&P remains one of the most popular episodes of classical literature in the modern world, and promises to have a rich future in the twenty-first century. Much work can and still needs to be done on Cupid and Psyche in the modern world. Some of the recurring themes of reception we have traced in this book have been shown to be useful approaches over different cultures and centuries, and, we hope, will provide an inspiration for future readers of Apuleius and for his reception.

As noted in Chapter 1, music will continue to be a rich field of the study of C&P in modern popular songs, as opposed to the full-length musical adaptations we delineated. This was demonstrated by Nadia Scippacercola at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel VI in Ghent in September 2022, where she gathered and analysed about fifty lyrics from the 1990s to today that reference or allude to C&P. The themes of reception in the song lyrics reflect some of the topics covered in this volume: some songs identify the singer with one of the characters, mainly Psyche and her experiences—for example, Molly Sweeney's 2011 song 'Eros and Psyche' from the album *Gold Rings and Fur Coats*, which retells the story from Psyche's view, or Kaos LDA's 2019 song 'Goya' from their album *Goya*, which refers to the marble statues of the pair of lovers, following the tradition both of Scritti Politti's 1985 album *Cupid & Psyche 85*, which found inspiration in Canova's statue group,[1] and of the novels and short stories that placed an artwork based on C&P at their centre (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5).

It is clear that several key elements of C&P reception remain constant threads through the centuries and can be traced throughout the chapters in this book. The first of these is the repeated reception of C&P in its original form of prose fiction. This has the effect of legitimizing by the use of a classical model a central modern literary genre that is not always perceived to have the cultural cachet of the Graeco-Roman ancient world. This can be seen in the historical novel, whether set in antiquity, like Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii'* (1834, see Chapter 5) or Pater's *Marius The Epicurean* (1885, see Chapter 6) or in later periods (e.g. Scott's *Kenilworth* (1821), with a plot set in the sixteenth century; see Paschalis 2020). C&P, with its narrative of the maturation of a youthful protagonist, is easily appropriated by the *Bildungsroman* or novel of individual development such as Wieland's *Agathon* (1767, see Chapter 3) or Lewis's *Till We Have Faces* (1956, see Chapter 7); the work of A. S. Byatt (Chapter 7) shows that C&P still has valence in the contemporary novel.

At times the presence of C&P either as a central metaphor or as an ekphrasis of a work of art viewed by characters in the middle of the novel becomes a genre marker for the developing novelistic genre. This is the case in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* novels (1795–1829), which feature C&P-inspired inset tales echoing Apuleius' novelistic structure, or in the characters of Charlotte Turner Smith, Mary Shelley, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Achim von Arnim, Ernst von Brunnow, or Alexander von Ungern-Sternberg, who compare paintings or sculptures of C&P to their own experiences (see Chapters 3 and 4, which also feature examples of poets using artistic representations of C&P as inspirations for their poems, such as Keats, Hemans, or L.E.L.). Themes from C&P remain relevant for modern novelists. For example, Toni Morrison's postmodern novel *Beloved* (1987), apart from clearly echoing aspects of Greek tragedy (e.g. the protagonist's killing of her own child to prevent her from suffering), it has been argued, can be productively compared to C&P as a portrait of enslavement.[2]

There are some favourite scenes across the centuries that owe that status to their vivid imagery and aptitude for representation in art: the embrace and kiss of Cupid and Psyche as seen in the famous

Capitoline Statue appear in genres ranging from short poems and long novels (see Fig. 4 and all the chapters above), and images of Psyche viewing her sleeping husband, or wounding him with her lamp, are equally frequent in authors' imaginations across our period.

Earlier receptions use C&P seen through a Christian lens (see Chapters 1 and 2, and the versions of Beaumont or Prasch), but even more recent adaptors such as C. S. Lewis (see Chapter 7) imbue it with Christian undertones. C&P, with its mortal woman made immortal through the love of a god, naturally lends itself to contemplations of the human condition, and the nature of eternal life and love.

Debates on the story's origins (did it come from an early Greek mythic narrative or merely from a sophisticated late Latin Middle Platonist's literary adaptation?) became important for some writers. While some academics' argument for a lost Greek original of the 'myth of Eros and Psyche' encouraged literary engagement in the Classical period (see Chapter 3 for the German reception, particularly prone to this), later writers embraced Apuleius' belated status as postdating the golden age of the Classical world. Romantic poets, particularly, aware of writing in a period after Classicism and consequently suffering from an anxiety about lateness, could identify with the story's particularly Roman representation in Apuleius and later art (see Chapter 4), and Decadent writers, too, aligned their worldview with Apuleius' lateness (see Chapter 6).

Another important consideration is the female gender of Psyche as protagonist, exceptional in Latin literature, and its special attraction for female writers of later ages (e.g. Mary Tighe and E. B. Browning in Chapter 4, A. S. Byatt (again) in Chapter 7, and contemporary female poets in Chapter 8). From a more conventional gender-role perspective, this explains the consistent use of C&P in the context of works composed for weddings, where the bride is the traditional protagonist of the event: we can see this in Raphael's frescoes in the Sala di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina celebrating the 1518 marriage of its owner Agosto Chigi (see Chapter 1), in Ludwig Kosegarten's Psyche novel of 1786, marking his own marriage, or von Lincker's dedication of his epic of 1804 to the Grand Duchess of Russia to celebrate her wedding (see Chapter 3), Gillray's use of Psyche to satirize the 1797 marriage of the earl of Derby (see Chapter 4), or the

evocation of Psyche's marriage in that of Aurora in Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (1856–7, see Chapter 4 again). The fullest reworking of C&P in English fiction, Charlotte M. Yonge's *Love and Life* (1880; see Chapter 5 and Schultze 2020), presents C&P as a conventional novel of romance and conjugal success.

Psyche's personal resilience, succeeding against the odds in a male-dominated world even if the end goal is conventional marriage, also offers an opening for more feminist interpretations; this is a feature of the eighteenth-century French Beauty and Beast tradition, as brilliantly detailed by Marina (Warner 1995; see Chapter 2), and is later prominent in the work of A. S. Byatt (see Chapter 7). The prominence of Psyche as a figure for Romantic and modern female poets, paralleling their own independent role, looks in the same direction (see Chapters 4, 7, and 8). All these main threads of reception can still be found in the most recent approaches to C&P.

Ongoing Receptions and New Audiences

Performative versions of C&P of all kinds have continued to appear on the modern stage since the 2002 production by Oswald (see Chapter 7), a tradition that has now run for more than five centuries (see Chapter 1 and the end of Chapter 4).[3] A range of modern musical versions of C&P is to be found outside the form of classical opera (treated in Chapter 7). Cindy Shapiro's *Psyche: A Modern Rock Opera* was performed in 2014 at the Greenway Court Theater in Los Angeles.[4] Like Mary Zimmerman's *Metamorphoses* (below), this is another version of the story that presents C&P as a story about eternal love: its signature song is 'I did not die, I'm still alive, I live', and the strapline for the production is 'True Love is Immortal'. A more conventionally styled musical-theatre piece, *Cupid and Psyche*, with lyrics by Sean Hartley and music by Jihwan Kim, was produced in New York in 2003. Here Psyche gets the prime songs: her final duet with Cupid celebrates the conventional happy ending: 'My eyes can clearly see | Just what a sun-bright and bountiful world it can be.' *Cupid and Psyche*, a musical screenplay by Keith Snyder from 2003, is an adventurous adaptation of the original, as its cover text and publisher's

description indicates: ‘A screenplay with people singing and dancing and shooting each other…Armed thugs, biker fistfights, and midnight flights to Paris are all just part of Carolyn’s journey toward her dream: becoming an opera diva.’[5] The 2014 dramatization *Cupid and Psyche* by Emily Snyder (no relation), produced at the Barrow Group Theatre, New York, became the final part of her Love and Death Trilogy. The play is adapted into blank verse in a classic five-act frame, and complements the other plays, which focus on Persephone and Adonis, by concluding the trilogy with a happy ending.[6]

Another adaptation of C&P by a female writer is that of Mary Zimmerman in her successful play *Metamorphoses*, first produced at Northwestern University (1996) and later on Broadway (Circle in the Square Theatre, 2002).[7] This work contains a set of scenes representing ten myths from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and one, C&P, from Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*, here called ‘Eros and Psyche’;[8] this link matches the clear derivation of metamorphic (and other) elements in Apuleius’ novel from Ovid’s homonymous poem.[9] This technique of ‘sampling’[10] a related work is found in other modern classical versions: we can compare the appearance of scenes from Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* in Federico Fellini’s film *Fellini Satyricon* (1970),[11] his celebrated adaptation of Petronius’ novel, or of elements from Vergil’s *Aeneid* in Wolfgang Petersen’s (2004) film *Troy*, which generally (if loosely) follows Homer’s *Iliad*.[12] Such patchwork inclusion of elements from one work in another fits the eclectic contemporary aesthetics of postmodernism very well.[13]

Zimmerman’s C&P vignette[14] presents an outline summary of the story by two voices (Q and A, one asking questions, the other providing answers) commenting on two actors playing Eros and Psyche as they silently perform key elements in the tale.[15] The emphasis in the whole episode is allegorical, perhaps reflecting the strong allegorical history of C&P (see Chapter 1); Cupid is naked and blind so as to represent love’s transparency and ignorant compulsion, Psyche’s attempt to kill him represents our lack of trust in love, and the final moral is ‘the soul wanders in the dark, until it finds love. And so wherever our love goes, there we find our soul’.[16] The text itself points out, the happy ending of C&P, preserved by Zimmerman, makes it different from most of the tragic Ovidian metamorphoses she chooses to treat; it is

paired at the end of the whole play with the story of Baucis and Philemon, with which it shares the idea of eternal union in love.[17]

C&P's history as the storyline for a ballet, which goes back at least to the court of Louis XIV (see Chapter 2),[18] has continued in the twenty-first century. Alexei Ratmansky's ballet *Psyché*, using César Franck's 1888 symphonic poem *Psyché et Eros*,[19] was performed in Paris and New York in 2011,[20] and *A Duet in the Dark* (for piano, violin, and dancers), with music by Edward Finnis and choreography by Kim Brandstrup, based on C&P, was premiered at the Spitalfields Festival in London under Covid restrictions in July 2021.[21]

There is also a one-act version of the story from 2012 for teenage readers and performers that explicitly invokes the digital age: *Cupid and Psyche: An Internet Love Story*, by three female co-authors.[22] To quote its cover summary:

> Izzy is tired of always being the only one without a boyfriend. With her high school's homecoming dance right around the corner, she decides to take matters into her own hands and find a date on the internet. A few chats later, she's met the perfect guy, but is her new internet boyfriend really who he says he is? Izzy's friends aren't so sure. Will their plan to reveal his true colors save Izzy from disaster or cause one?

Here the theme of the male beloved's uncertain identity is given a very contemporary twist. This text for teenagers is only one of a very wide range of recent retellings of C&P for a young audience.[23]

We still await a full modern cinematic streaming version. C&P's presence has been detected in *Pan's Labyrinth*, the dark 2006 film of the Spanish–Mexican auteur Guillermo del Toro,[24] and in the comedy-drama *The Devil Wears Prada* from the same year, directed by David Frankel.[25] In 2020 a Hollywood animated film project *Cupid*, adapting C&P, directed by Pete Candeland, and involving the voice skills of Justin Bieber, was announced as being in pre-production by Mythos Studios, a spin-off of the Marvel franchise.[26] C&P has also been argued to underlie the plot of a 2022 episode (series 4, episode 5) of the hit BBC spy thriller TV series *Killing Eve*.[27]

An international collaboration scheduled for March 2020, as part of the European Latin and Greek Festival hosted annually in Lyons, was sadly interrupted by the pandemic.[28] As it moved online, recorded readings from

the *Metamorphoses*, including C&P, were published on its Facebook page;[29] a reprise in March 2021 added C&P to the donkey of the festival's 2020 logo on the poster and included international school collaborations, lectures, and fashion shows, taking the story to a young international audience.

Young adults (YA) are becoming one of the main groups of readers of C&P stories in the first quarter of the twenty-first century (just as they are a growing percentage of book readers, too): graphic novels, video games, and YA literature have taken on Apuleius' ancient tale, and present it afresh for a new generation of users. A specific characteristic of YA literature is a spirited heroine matched well with a considerate partner as equal.[30] Psyche in this environment is brave, outspoken, and loyal, and at times deadly to her enemies, all features found in the original but now enhanced and accentuated in its modern incarnation, while her Cupid is supportive and careful not to force her into marriage. A good example is the American writer Rick Riordan's short story 'Psyche Ninjas a Box of Beauty Cream'.[31] It is the second in a series of short stories that Riordan's hero Percy Jackson tells about the heroes of old. Somewhat anachronistically, Percy describes Psyche as a thoroughly modern teenager who is bullied at school for her beauty and turned into a tourist attraction in her home town, with T-shirts with her face on being sold when her 'popularity went viral' (p. 52), and with her stealing Aphrodite's online 'followers'. The story follows Apuleius fairly closely, but changes some of the characterizations to adapt to modern taste—for example, the wind Zephyros speaks like a flight assistant.

Riordan adds some entertaining allusions to popular culture—Psyche's palace contains jewelry alongside fezzes and bow ties, as if the Eleventh Doctor Who also used it (p. 59); Psyche searches for her husband in LA Fitness centres—and some knowledgeable insights that Percy wears lightly, such as his explanation that '*Beauty and the Beast* was totally based on Psyche's story' (p. 61). Eros' wound becomes explicitly a metaphor for his wounded heart, as an explanation for his absence and a running joke (pp. 81, 91, 97). Psyche stands up heroically for herself and her love against Aphrodite throughout, and Demeter and Hera are more involved with helping Psyche than in the original—the former sends the ants for the first task (p. 90), while the latter makes the reed explain the second one to Psyche (p. 92). The weakened Eros recovers enough to ask Zeus for help for the third task (Zeus sends his eagle, p. 95), and Eros' spirit explains to

Psyche from the tower how to enter the Underworld (p. 99); he tells her to take money and cakes, but crucially does not explain what to do with them. Psyche recognizes his voice, is reassured, and works out what to do with her props on her own. Even Percy himself admires this capable and active heroine; he notes explicitly that Psyche travels to the Underworld without any weapons and carrying only cakes, and that she is therefore more courageous than the normal heroes credited with this kind of descent ('Respect', he exclaims, p. 101). In the end, it is Demeter and Hera who suggest to Zeus that Psyche be made a goddess to save her from dying from Persephone's Stygian sleep. Eros gives Psyche the choice to be with him or not, speaking to the YA audience's idea of consent, and declares her the boss in the relationship. After she realizes that her sisters betrayed her, Psyche is angry and vindictive enough to enjoy her revenge on them.

Both of the largest comic franchises, DC and Marvel, have adapted Apuleius' characters in their series.[32] In a DC universe comic collection *The Books of Magic* (Rottenberg 1996),[33] Cupid (now 'Q') and Psyche ('Fly Kee') are modern hip-hop characters living in San Francisco who interfere with the love lives of the series' protagonists; Cupid has exchanged his arrows for chocolate love bullets. The *Marvel Super Heroes* story *Cupid's Error* (Yomtov and Tokar 1992) features Cupid looking for Psyche and mistaking Mockingbird (a clever and powerful female member of the Avengers, a Marvel Comics team of superheroes) for her, which results in a fight between the Avengers and Cupid. His mother, Aphrodite, had caused the confusion to distract her son with Mockingbird to gain power over Olympus.[34] Psyche appears only in a brief flashback.

Classical themes in comics are an ongoing subject for research.[35] Whereas the larger franchises call Cupid by his Latin-derived name (though his mother has her Greek name in Marvel), other graphic novels refer to him as Eros. This not only continues the debate about the story's origin and its ideological identification as Greek that we have seen in previous centuries, but also allows for a solid grounding in Greek mythology alongside a more popular psychological look at the theme of love. The sophisticated treatment in *Stolen Hearts* (Foley and Bannerjee 2010) sets the tale in a frame narrative of a female teacher consoling her young and wayward student whose loving relationship with a young man is disapproved of by his mother, with obvious parallels between the frame and the C&P inset tale, clearly identified as a 'Greek' myth. The story's purpose

is to instruct the girl that true love is worth fighting for, similarly to the Victorian versions (see Chapter 5).

Accordingly, this Psyche is approachable and confident, but sad that nobody discusses art or philosophy with her—a heroine for the YA market, matched by a handsome and sensitive Eros, who enjoys his task of bringing love to mortals and pities Psyche's fate before he even sees her. He wounds himself accidentally when he does, startled by her cat. He then defies his mother, Aphrodite, by declaring his love for Psyche openly, and withdraws love from the whole universe until she gives in to the match. Only then does the story resume, with Psyche's father's visit to Apollo's oracle. In Cupid's palace, Psyche is actively busy with gardening and learning foreign languages while waiting for her husband at night; Cupid's disguise is not to hide the marriage but to ensure that Psyche falls in love with 'his soul before she loved his appearance'.[36] It is Cupid who suggests bringing her sisters for company, more attentive and less omniscient than Apuleius' god, despite Zephyrus warning him against their malicious talk. It is Psyche's lack of trust that causes Eros to fly away and doubt her love. Sexuality and Psyche's pregnancy (but not all of her suicide attempts) are suppressed, and Psyche does not know that her sisters take the initiative and throw themselves hopefully off the cliff once they hear a rumour that she is separated from her husband. When she submits to Aphrodite, she defies the goddess's taunts, and her tasks become her quest to prove the strength of her love for Eros. Where Cupid's support for Psyche during the tasks is ambiguous in Apuleius, this Eros is shown clearly to be behind all of Psyche's helpers.

Psyche & Eros: The Lady and the Monster (Croall and Randall 2009) is directed at a younger audience and stresses the story's fairy-tale aspect: Eros falls in love with Psyche's sleeping beauty and wounds himself deliberately. The plot is simplified and streamlined: Cupid immediately agrees to Psyche's request for her sisters and shows no sign of foreboding. During her (three) tasks, Psyche is helped by the creatures because of their friendship with Eros and because of Psyche's charm. The authors, rather didactically, include recommendations of books on Greek mythology for further reading.[37] Marcia Williams's *Psyche and Eros* (1998) is a version for children learning to read, full of wry yet age-appropriate humour (the sisters are called Big Ears and Blob Nose) and devoid of any sexual or vengeful content. The tasks take up most of the book, and Psyche, who

looks just like Eros, receives feathered wings just like her husband's in the end, a neat image of equality.[38]

'The Greek and Roman Myths in Comics', a South Korean *manhwa* (Korean for comics and cartoons) series of comics published by Gana Publishing, was successfully turned into an animated TV series called 'Olympus Guardian' in 2002–3.[39] The frame narrative has two young children finding a book on Greek mythology, and asking their father to tell them these stories, starting with the overthrow of Kronos by Zeus. The story of Cupid and Psyche (as 'Love and Soul') follows on from that of Pandora (episode 3) in a double episode (episodes 4 and 5).[40] This places it quite early in the mythological timeline, in opposition to the all-encompassing idea of its lateness experienced, for example, in the Romantic and Decadent approaches to the story (see Chapters 4 and 6), but Psyche's box echoes neatly that of Pandora. As in Apuleius, the story is told as a lesson, here about keeping promises. Eros, still a young child at the beginning of the story, grows into a young man once he has wounded himself with his own arrow on seeing Psyche. Psyche is sweet and compliant, and (as in *Stolen Hearts*, above) it is Cupid who suggests she meets with her sisters to cheer her up. As her sisters are genuinely concerned for her, there is no plot to kill them for revenge. A nod to the fairy-tale aspect of the story features in Psyche's first task, as a recognizably Disney fairy godmother appears when Psyche ponders sorting the seeds, in order to help 'Cinderella' get ready for 'the ball'. It is only once she leaves without helping Psyche as soon as she realizes that there is no ball and that Psyche is not Cinderella that the ants decide to support Psyche. Eros is not involved in helping her, as his mother has incarcerated him, only to break free when he realizes Psyche's danger when she opens Persephone's box. The happy ending is arranged by Zeus, and the children of the frame narrative learn their lesson.

The story has made some inroads into the gaming world[41]—for example, with *Heart and Soul*, a positively received *otome* style game,[42] played from Psyche's perspective with focus on her emotional reactions to the events, which allows the player to make a series of choices, each resulting in a different outcome of the story. Apuleius' 'real' ending is only one of them.[43]

A C&P story for a more adult audience is included in *Fabulous*, a 2019 collection of updated and modernized fairy-tale-based short stories by Lucy Hughes-Hallett.[44] Her Cupid is named Crispin, and Psyche is a librarian, and the plot involves several explicit sex scenes.[45]

Beyond the YA world, C&P has a prominent place in a recent popularizing work by a figure of broader UK culture. Stephen Fry's *Mythos: The Greek Myths Retold* (2017) echoes yet again many of the themes covered in this book. Fry's rendition of Greek mythology places the story of Cupid and Psyche at the physical centre of his book, echoing Apuleius' location of it as the centrepiece of the *Metamorphoses*, and references Apuleius explicitly as the story's Latin author, an echo perhaps of *Met.* 1.1, where Apuleius claims the novel's Greek origin, while telling the story in his own way, and pointing out its fairy-tale associations with Beauty and the Beast and Cinderella. Fry's version focuses on Psyche's experiences, which are told in Fry's characteristic tongue-in-cheek tone, with a knowing sense of humour. His main characters bear Greek names: Eros, Psyche, and Hedone (their daughter Voluptas), and Psyche's family (parents Aristides and Damaris, sisters Calanthe and Zona). The need to give these anonymous Apuleian characters names has been felt since at least the seventeenth century (see Chapter 2). Fry's Psyche does not appeal to Ceres and Juno for help, and does not hand herself over to 'Aphrodite' voluntarily, but ends up at her door by accident. It is the god Pan who gives Psyche the idea to take revenge on her sisters, and the ending is much changed, as a rather fatherly 'Zeus' sends 'Hermes' into the Underworld to fetch Psyche back for Eros. Sensitive to some of the story's narrative problems, Fry also rationalizes why Eros' slight burn wound incapacitates him completely—gods, he says, react to wounds in a different manner. The book's popularity will (we hope) ensure that future generations of all ages will know C&P, and in a way that makes clear the rich intermediate stages of the story's reception over the past two millennia.

In recent years there has been a wealth of feminist retellings of ancient myths that have reached top billing in bestseller lists, and C&P has now joined this set in the shape of Luna McNamara's *Psyche and Eros* (2023).[46] McNamara's book is told as a dual narrative by Psyche and Eros, and her Psyche is a heroine in her own right, an active warrior raised to fight monsters, taught by an older and wise Atalanta and befriended by her cousin Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. As the granddaughter of

Perseus and Andromeda and a princess of Mycenae, she is slotted neatly into a rich mythological background. Eros is an old god, born of Chaos, who is later adopted as son by the much younger goddess Aphrodite. Neither is interested in love, and Eros regrets creating desire among gods with its unforeseen consequences and lives a lonely and isolated life in his palace, with Zephyrus as his capricious friend. Like C. S. Lewis (see Chapter 7), McNamara includes a vignette of Apuleius in her novel to indicate that Psyche's story will continue to be shared by future readers and undergo changes in the process of reception:

> 'Somewhere along the way, they ceased to hear my voice telling the story and imagined their own. They saw themselves in it, their own longings for love mortal or divine. A seed was planted that day, the core of a story that would be retold over and over again until eventually it became lodged in a novel by a Latin philosopher. But I did not know this then.' (Psyche speaking, p. 250)

The entertaining plot displays McNamara's detailed knowledge of Greek mythology, with some rather ingenious takes and rewritings of Apuleius' narrative to adapt it for her modern readership, with a clear focus on the emotional development of its two lonely protagonists. Pitched as a book for YA and adult audiences alike, it shows that the novelistic future of Apuleius' story will continue to fascinate readers.

Explorations of the story in both performance and academic study continue apace, reflecting the riches of Apuleius' multilayered novel. Our final example combines the story's scholarly analysis and its performative aspect, both of which have been set out in their many entanglements again and again in this book. Delegates at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel VI in Ghent (Belgium) in September 2022 were shown a feature-length puppet film version of *Cupid and Psyche*, made by a team of actors, artists, and puppeteers led by Lauren Dudley of Trial and Error Productions in Seattle, Washington, directed and co-written by Rebecca Tourino Collinsworth. The classicist Ashli Baker collaborated on the film as co-scriptwriter and dramaturg, and classical colleagues voiced some of the characters.[47] The cast is multiracial, which is reflected in the features of the puppets, too.

The show yet again reflects some of the topics covered in this volume and shows their continued relevance for the story's reception. It is introduced by a donkey puppet who gives us some background on Apuleius, who then joins as a stuffed toy an all-female human cast of

robbers, Charite (unnamed) and the robbers' housekeeper, played for laughs. Parallels between the main story of the *Met*. and the live action scenes—for example, the housekeeper's use of rose tea to drug the robbers and Charite—illustrate the connections and correspondences. The Cupid and Psyche story is acted out with hand-held puppets, and Psyche's tasks are drawn with stop-action motion. The film ends with the donkey puppet eating some roses and turning into a puppet Lucius, who wryly asks us to 'remember, things aren't always as they seem'.

This puppet show is sophisticated yet funny, follows the Apuleian original closely, and imitates its complexity with a new set of allusions to Latin and later literature and interlingual puns. Consequently, the English script is interspersed with Latin. For example, as Apollo and all the characters are Greek but the performance is in English, the compromise is for him to give his prophecy in Latin, and so the Apuleian prophecy (*Met*. 4.33) is presented in Latin *verbatim*. Likewise, the invisible voices sing a Latin song for Psyche in preparation of her wedding night.

The fairy-tale aspect of CP (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4) is played up by allusions to *Goldilocks* (Psyche fears that there may be bears inside the deserted palace) and, of course, *Beauty and the Beast*. Allusions to ancient myths get a nod; for example, during the second of her tasks, the collecting of the golden fleece from the carnivorous sheep (*Met*. 6.11–12),[48] Psyche loudly wonders if Venus has mistaken her for Jason. She also worries about her descent into the Underworld because she has read enough Classical literature to know that it is hard even for heroes to return from there, and women have never managed it at all. She even quotes from the *Aeneid*'s Underworld descent to cheer herself up (*hoc opus, hic labor est* ('this is the work, this is the task' (*Aen*. 6.129))). She is conscious of the concept of the 'Hero's Journey',[49] thus playing with gender dynamics, as we have seen in the reception of C&P throughout. Accordingly, there are frequent non-Apuleian allusions to Aeneas, mostly from Venus, as the other famous son she has apart from Cupid, and who was too busy to help her with Psyche but who would surely have been better behaved and who could be given Cupid's arrows and bow instead. Aeneas as a middle-aged Roman hero is thus set against a surly Cupid, who, together with Psyche, is a teenager in attitude and behaviour, indicating a target audience of Young Adults or students.[50] The goddess Juno, appearing alongside Ceres (cf. *Met*. 6.3–4), clearly dislikes Aeneas, who had already been granted 'Empire without

end' (a quotation from Jupiter's prophecy in *Aen.* 1.279). The couple use the correct Roman wedding and divorce formulas in Latin.[51]

These kinds of jokes require a learned audience of classicists, but do not stop a less intertextual audience from enjoying the puppet show. Psyche, for example, has to take so many things into the Underworld with her that she puts everything into a notoriously large IKEA bag; as this book has shown, the reception of C&P through the centuries, too, plays both to classicists and to wider audiences.

The special interest in a female audience's reactions, already set out by the feminization of the robbers and the old woman's sympathetic treatment of the captive Charite, also allows a focus on Psyche as the heroine of her own YA adventure (see the focus on female reception in Chapters 3 and 4 and above in this Epilogue). Everything is focalized through Psyche, who thus acts as the audience's guide to the story, and by sharing her inner life and thoughts we learn of her erudition and reflection. Psyche is keen to escape her birth family into a marriage to the unknown, fully aware of the risks she is taking. In her marriage, she is lonely but not passive, instead actively seeking sexual and emotional fulfilment. She is more knowledgeable as a whole than her Apuleian predecessor about the female lived experience, too: it is she who recognizes her pregnancy and informs Cupid, and who understands herself that her husband is a god. More manipulative, too, she is also clearly the agent in her sisters' death (as we have shown, this is a critical point of interpretation in her characterization throughout the centuries). It is she who sorts out the happy ending by talking to Juno as goddess of marriage, rather than Cupid manipulating Jupiter (who, when he appears at the end, is rather gormless). Noticeably, all darker elements, such as her various suicide attempts and her apparent death after opening Proserpina's box, are eliminated for the younger contemporary audience (another development that has been noted before). Instead, the pregnant teenager sleeps for three days while Cupid paces. This film is sure to contribute to the continued relevance for C&P in the twenty-first century for audiences of Young Adults and scholars alike.

This volume has made it fully clear that C&P is an emblematic story, which is nevertheless flexible enough to be humanly recognizable throughout the centuries, offering characters that are both strange and comprehensible for generations of readers and audiences. The story works on many levels and is adaptable into many different literary genres, from

comic to ballet, from play to novel, which constitutes a major part of its durability.

All this is possible because C&P has enough *Leerstellen* or empty places, in the language of reception aesthetics, which writers and receivers can fill with their own reality.[52] Although not in Apuleius' story itself, the depiction of Psyche with her butterfly wings and Cupid's birdlike wings allow for instant visual recognition as a pair of lovers; their story begins before Apuleius with images, and continues into the twenty-first century with the same kind of pictures.[53] Over the centuries, this image of a pair of lovers has fascinated a wide audience: young and old readers, learned scholars and children, women in search of an identity situated in the 'respectability' of antiquity and classicists looking for myths that might precede Homer. Its remarkably adaptable characters and storyline, shown in the rich contents of this volume, will surely ensure the story's further survival over many years to come.

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[1] Discussed in Müller (2020).

[2] Bradley (2022: 21–32); Bradley does, however, not note the tragic allusions to Medea and Procne, for which, see Cullhed (2022).

[3] Useful recent surveys of modern stage versions can be found in Müller (2020) and Müller-Reineke 2009), which we draw on here.

[4] See https://www.psycherockopera.com/collaboration.

[5] See Snyder (2011).

[6] See http://www.emilycasnyder.info/love-and-death-trilogy.html, with links to YouTube videos.

[7] In 2002 Zimmerman won a Tony Award for Best Director, and *Metamorphoses* was nominated for a Tony for Best Play and Best Scenic Design.

[8] Published as Zimmerman (2002). For its Ovidian aspects, see Cox (2018; 97–116). Zimmerman worked with the version of C&P by Edith Hamilton in her influential retelling in Hamilton (1942) (interview with Zoe Jennings, Chicago, 2019; we are most grateful to the latter for this information).

[9] See, e.g., Harrison (2014).

[10] The term comes from popular music, especially hip-hop, and refers to the brief incorporation of recognizable elements from one song in another, reflecting the possibilities of digital technology: cf., e.g., Katz (2004: 137–54).

[11] Noted, e.g., by Sullivan (2001).

[12] See, e.g., Martin-Rodriguez (2015).

[13] For a useful brief guide to postmodern aesthetics, see Shusterman (2005).

[14] Zimmerman (2002: 68–77).

[15] There is a brief discussion of this section in Chirico (2008: 174–5).

[16] Zimmerman (2002: 76).

[17] The play's final line is 'Let me die still loving, and so, never die' (83). Of course, Baucis and Philemon achieve only a limited perpetuation in comparison with the divine immortality of Cupid and Psyche.

[18] Note the 1939 ballet *Cupid and Psyche* by Frederic Ashton with music by Lord Berners: http://www.frederickashton.org.uk/cupid.html.

[19] For a brief account of Franck's work, see, e.g., https://www.indianapolissymphony.org/backstage/program-notes/franck-psyche-et-eros/.

[20] For a review and summary, see https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/29/arts/dance/paris-opera-ballets-phedre-and-psyche-review.html.

[21] See https://edmundfinnis.com/works/.

[22] Hernandez et al. (2012).

[23] For a recent rich survey of these, see Maurice (2020). For further adaptations for children and young adults, see a recent video adaptation into the Japanese style of *gacha life* (where animé-like characters and stories can be created from templates) at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lNBNr0vXcDc (our thanks to Amrita May-Singh for her help).

[24] See Siegel (2020).

[25] See Croft (2012).

[26] See https://www.movieinsider.com/m16504/cupid-animated-movie. We hope the project has survived the pandemic.

[27] See https://geekvibesnation.com/killing-eve-season-4-episode-5-review/ https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m00164gv.

[28] https://www.ulule.com/festival-europeen-latin-grec-apulee-2020/ and https://festival-latingrec.eu/english-2021/.

[29] https://www.facebook.com/FestivalLatinGrec/.

[30] For the 'fiery' nature of YA heroines, see Hentges (2018).

[31] Riordan (2015). Subsequent references are to this edition. See also https://riordan.fandom.com/wiki/Psyche.

[32] We are very grateful to Ed Cueva, who presented his research on the graphic novels featuring C&P at the International Conference on the Ancient Novel VI in September 2022 and shared his research with us.

[33] https://comicvine.gamespot.com/the-books-of-magic-27-rites-of-passage-part-one-do/4000–42670/.

[34] https://www.comicartfans.com/gallerypiece.asp?piece=855915.

[35] On Classics in comics, see the edited volumes Kovacs and Marshall (2011, 2015). Plot summary of Rites of Magic: https://comicvine.gamespot.com/the-books-of-magic-27-rites-of-passage-part-one-do/4000-42670/ ; summary of Marvel's 'Cupid's Error': https://www.comicartfans.com/gallerypiece.asp?piece=855915.

[36] Foley and Bannerjee (2010: 30).

[37] See Chapter 3 on the situating of C&P in research on ‘Greek’ mythology in a wider sense.

[38] On the physical similarity between the lovers often found in representative art, see Hagstrum (1989).

[39] See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olympus_Guardian—we are grateful to Evelyn Adkins for this link.

[40] Both are available on YouTube: https://youtu.be/RJJthhXB3CM (episode 4) and https://youtu.be/bCwI4qCzdAk (episode 5).

[41] The study of classically themed digital games is a growing recent research field—cf., e.g., Lowe and Shahabudin (2009) and Thorsen (2012).

[42] A visual story telling game in Japanese *manga* style, with women as the target audience and often romantic in nature, see Kim (2009).

[43] https://store.steampowered.com/app/1724160/Heart__Soul/ Other available games include Cupid’s Palace https://store.steampowered.com/app/1695040/Cupids_Palace/, with rather simple story and graphics, where the player identifies with Cupid and tries to unite with Psyche. An online slot machine game bears little resemblance to the plot: https://casino.guru/cupid-and-psyche-slot-play-free.

[44] ’Psyche’ in Hughes-Hallett (2019: 47-68).

[45] For Johanna Thomas-Corr’s review of the book in the Guardian see https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/jun/24/fabulous-lucy-hughes-hallett-review.

[46] We are very grateful to Luna McNamara and her publisher Charlotte Mursell of Orion Books for sharing a pre-print copy of the novel with us.

[47] For further information and a link to the video, see https://classics.washington.edu/news/2022/08/12/psyche-and-cupid-film-features-cast-and-crew-uw-classics.

[48] Epic undertones in C&P are studied in Harrison (2013).

[49] Campbell (1949).

[50] Other references include the gates of Horn and Ivory as sources of dreams (*Aen*. 6.992–9).

[51] See, e.g., Treggiari (1991: 435–82) and Hersch (2010: 131) for wedding and divorce formulas in Roman law.

[52] In the sense that this term is used in reader-response theory and reception aesthetics, see Schmitz (2007: 88–91).

[53] See Schlam (1976) and May (forthcoming).

APPENDIX

Images from Art Linked with Cupid and Psyche

Here we provide some hyperlinks to the vast range of depictions of C&P in art in our period, both images closely connected to our chapters and a more general collection. All links here and in the main text were successfully accessed on 10/01/2023.

A. Specific Links for Chapters 1–6

Chapter 1

The wedding of Cupid and Psyche on the Marlborough Cameo:
https://collections.mfa.org/objects/155692
The wedding of Cupid and Psyche, child sarcophagus:
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-132
The Loggia di Psiche at the Villa Farnesina, Rome, Raphael and others, 1518:
https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loggia_di_Psiche

Chapter 2

Dufour wallpapers at Bad Doberan:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:The_Story_of_Psyche_(Dufour,_Bad_Doberan_copy)

Chapter 3

Schloss Wōrlitz (one of the images features Luise's bedroom with a painting of the Marlborough gem over the door):

https://deu.archinform.net/projekte/1104.htm

Angelika Kauffmann's picture of Cupid and Psyche from the Wōrlitzer: Luisium:https://www.museum.de/blog/angelika-kauffmann-unbekannte-schaetze-aus-vorarlberger-privatsammlungen/

Portrait of Goethe's Mignon (1828) by Wilhelm von Schadow:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_Wilhelm_Schadow#/media/File:Schadow,_Friedrich_Wilhelm_von_-_Mignon_-_1828.jpg

Bettina von Arnim's design of the Goethe Memorial [search for Goethe]:

https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/19Jh/ArminBettina/bet_bild.html

Goethe Memorial by Steinhäuser (after Bettina von Arnim's design):

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Goethe_mit_der_Psyche.jpg

Chapter 4

For the Marlborough Gem and the Marlborough collection (see also under Chapter 1): https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems/The-Marlborough-Collection/Introduction

‘Turban à Bandeau. Tunique à la Psyché.’

https://candicehern.com/regencyworld/evening-full-dress-may-1811/cp1802-373/

William Blake, ‘When Cupid Was a Boy’:

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Why_was_Cupid_a_Boy

William Blake, ‘Infant Joy’:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infant_Joy#/media/File:William_Blake_-_Songs_of_Innocence_and_of_Experience,_Plate_28,_%22Infant_Joy%22_(Bentley_25)_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

Felicia Hemans, ‘Psyche Borne by Zephyrs to the Island of Pleasure’ (1828):

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Poems_of_Felicia_Hemans_in_The_Literary_Souvenir,_1828/Psyche_borne_by_Zephyrs_to_the_Island_of_Pleasure

Letitia Elizabeth Landon, ‘Cupid and Psyche’ (1827):

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Poems_of_Letitia_Elizabeth_Landon_in_The_Literary_Souvenir,_1827/Cupid_and_Psyche

The Poniatowksi collection of gems [search for Psyche]:

https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems/The-Poniatowski-Collection

Chapter 5

Frederic Leighton, The Bath of Psyche, *c.*1890:
https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/leighton-the-bath-of-psyche-n01574
Burne-Jones's panels for 1 Palace Green, London, 1870–82:
https://www.eb-j.org/browse-artwork-detail/Njk1
Burne-Jones's *Pan and Psyche*:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Edward_Burne-Jones_Pan_and_Psyche.jpg
Burne-Jones's *The Wedding of Psyche*:
https://www.wikiart.org/en/edward-burne-jones/the-wedding-of-psyche-1895
Burne-Jones's images connected with *The Earthly Paradise*:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fjK-sBGg2ZI
Marble statue of Psyche, Ludwig von Hofer, 1835:
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ludwig_Hofer,_Psyche.jpg
Marble statue of Psyche, Bertil Thorwaldsen, after 1807:
https://kataloget.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/en/A27
Works by John Gibson:
https://www.rct.uk/collection/41062/cupid-and-psyche [1845 panel]
https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/john-gibson-ra [drawings and sculpture]

Chapter 6

Roman Psyche cameo brooches, Victoria and Albert Museum, London:

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106505/psyche-cameo-unknown

http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O106497/psyche-cameo-unknown

Roman sarcophagi showing winged Psyche:

http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/766180 [Cliveden]

https://images.ashmolean.org/asset/11817 [Ashmolean Museum, Oxford]

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-132 [British Museum, London]

B. General Collections of Material

https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk/home [search for 'Amor and Psyche': 450+ images, academic database, ancient and later art]

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Paintings_of_Cupid_and_Psyche [160+ images free for use under author's terms, usually full acknowledgement]

https://artuk.org/discover/artworks [search for 'Psyche': 120+ images in UK public collections]

https://www.pinterest.co.uk/reginemay1/cupid-and-psyche/ [personal collection, requires pinterest login (free)]

https://kataloget.thorvaldsensmuseum.dk/en [Thorvaldsen's many scuptures and reliefs of C&P: search 'Cupid' and 'Psyche' [good images of all Psyche sculptures]

https://www.bridgemanimages.com/en/ [search for 'Psyche', 900+ images, commercial]

https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/photos/cupid-and-psyche [400+ images, commercial]

https://fineartamerica.com/art/paintings/cupid+and+psyche [190+ images, commercial]

https://www.wikiart.org/en/Search/psyche [120+ images, commercial]

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